

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Thesis presented for the Degree of Ph.D.

The Materials for Biography, the Handling of the  
Materials, and the Technique employed to reveal  
Character and Personality (with special reference  
to the work of Lockhart, Froude, and Lytton Strachey,  
and in the light of recent psychological investigation.)

by

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## INTRODUCTION.

When the living present has become the past, the historian of days to come will doubtless place it in its appropriate pigeon-hole, perhaps with a neat label, "The Machine Age," - for this is indeed the age of the machine. By its aid we rise, are fed, clothed, instructed, and amused; and we have even learned the tragic lesson that the highest heroism of humanity can go down before a soulless mechanism. But such a designation of our time is only one side of the truth, for, if ours could be called "The Age of the Machine," it might as truly be named "The Age of Personality." The artists in stone who built our cathedrals, the musicians who composed the praise for their services, and the poets whose ballads became the common heritage were alike unknown. With the Renaissance, there emerged the desire in man to find a personal niche in the House of Fame; from then till the present day, men have sought to disengage themselves from the community, and from the work they have created. Nevertheless, even last century, when great achievements were no longer anonymous, many of the leading public figures were, to those outside their immediate circle, mere names. To those who had not heard his readings, Charles Dickens was still the shadowy author of his novels; Disraeli, despite the apparent familiarity of "Dizzy," remained the semi-mythical head of the Tory party; and by far the greater proportion of those who drank "The Queen, God bless Her!" had never, in spite of the increasing popularity of railway travel, seen Her Majesty.

But all that is changed. The dissemination of newspapers gives to an immeasurably wider public the day to day occupations of the people in the limelight. Illustrations in the newspapers and magazines show them in their varied activities. The large number of cinema-goers can see them on the screen. Reporters can publish what the man of the hour said in an interview. By means of the microphone, the man himself can be heard throughout the civilised - a cynic might say, the uncivilised - world. Such minute scrutiny of personality cannot fail to affect that type of literature having as its subject the life of a man - biography.

To enable the biographer of public men to satisfy this thirst for complete knowledge, the fullest use is made of the recognized biographical material. Any autobiographical sketches, the letters sent to his friends, letters written about him, anecdotes recorded before they can be forgotten, and material contributed by his intimates are preserved with scientific accuracy, so that the biographer of today has often to find his way through a wilderness of manuscripts. Equally, however, with the public life of the subject is his private existence regarded as the special sphere of biography. What A. G. Gardiner in, Prophets, Priests, and Kings says of King Edward VII represents the opinion of the average man, "Now King Edward is, above everything else, a very human man.....He was cast for a part in the piece of life from his cradle, and he plays it industriously and thoroughly; but he has never lost the point of view of the plain man."(1) In the subjects of his lives Johnson had to a degree already found the fundamental common man; and the biographer of today seizes upon their kinship, despite their distinction, with the completely undistinguished. In addition, however, he has sought to penetrate to those attitudes, emotions, and subtle relationships which condition private and public life. The duality of this form of literature is touched on by Maurois where he speaks in Aspects of Biography of the "acts and outward life of the man duly embodied in documents and evidence," and the inner life, "the continuous flow of thoughts, the secret images passing through the mind, the chain of resolutions and regrets."(2) Such an element in biography is both a consequence of, and a parallel development to the modern interest in psychology.

From such an analysis it would appear that soon the innermost citadel of personality must surrender, and the insatiable curiosity of this generation about the dead, as well as about the living, be at last glutted. It may, or may not, be true that

Three parts of him  
Is ours already, and the man entire  
Upon the next encounter yields him ours.

Of absorbing interest, however, is the subject how the biographer of today acquired such an instrument for the dissection and display of personality. The material for biography, the handling of such material, and the technique for the revelation of character and personality, with such help as has been provided by recent psychology, is the subject of this thesis.

(1) Gardiner, 2. (2) Maurois Aspects, 162.

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Note.

1. References are numbered continuously throughout a chapter.
2. Underlining in a quotation indicates an italicised word or words in the original.

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## CHAPTER I.

## The Pioneers.

Roper's More. Cavendish's Wolsey. 17th century Characters. Early Autobiographical Work. Diarists. Table Talk. Walton's Lives. Fuller's Worthies. Biographical heresy - Thomas Sprat on Cowley; Burnet's Earl of Rochester. Biographical truth - Aubrey and Dryden. Early 18th century - preparing the soil. Johnson's Life of Savage. Work of Cibber, Goldsmith, and Mason. Spence's Anecdotes.

It is a striking fact that the great heritage of the Middle Ages comes to us mainly from people shrouded in the mists of anonymity, while even the famous names belong to shadowy figures hardly real to us today. Even the Renaissance, with its new interest in human personality, did not produce a crop of biographies to add to the literary store of the drama and the lyric. Plutarch's Lives, which, by the French translation of Amyot in 1559, and the English one of Sir Thomas North in 1579, formed part of the new classical knowledge, inspired the Elizabethans in other directions. In his Essays, Bacon had dealt with the springs of human conduct, and in The Advancement of Learning, he recommended the writing of "lives" as distinct from history; but in his practice he shows little discrimination between them. In this he resembles Sir Walter Raleigh. The character of Epaminondas (1), for example, from his Historie of the World is described with his various qualities and excellences; but, in the part preceding, the great leader and the battle of Mantinaea are inextricably interwoven.

It was not till fully a century later that even the name of biography was introduced to our tongue. Dryden, in his Life of Plutarch, after making a distinction between "Biographia or the History of particular Mens Lives," and history points out that this branch of literature is more confined than other types of historical record, "treating of Wars and Counsels, and all other publick affairs of Nations, only as they relate to him, whose life is written, or as his Fortunes have a particular dependence on them, or connection to (2) them."



In the same essay, Dryden comes very near the root of all such writing, the desire to commemorate those who have left their mark on their generation.

The nature of that influence may be widely different, and few would be found now to agree with Sir Sidney Lee's dictum, "Character which does not translate itself into exploit is for the biographer a mere phantasm." (3) Such a definition would exclude from the sphere of biography all who were not public figures or men of action. Provided we include in exploit, however, whatever shows in action the bundle of habits, qualities, and experiences which we call personality, it is true enough. That action may range from the conquest of a continent to the publication of a slim volume of verse, or it may be no more than conversing with one's friends, but there must be about the personality the quality of life.

It follows that in the study of character and personality there must be the two kinds of accuracy - the exactitude which the biographer shows in recording the main facts of his subject's life, and the truthfulness with which he portrays his private existence, that self which shows in familiar letters, in contact with others, and in the spoken word.

Although we know more of Portia's appearance, and more of Hamlet's mind than of their creator's, circumstances have given to us amazingly vivid pictures of two earlier public figures, Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Wolsey. Not only are these Lives of intrinsic value, but they are of interest as showing the conditions under which successful biography can be written. They contain also some of the elements which will be used when, under the influence of Plutarch, and by reason of social conditions, biography becomes a distinctive type of prose literature.

William Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More was intended for inclusion with More's works printed in 1557, but circumstances delaying its completion, the accession of Queen Elizabeth caused its author to retain it in manuscript. Though a Paris edition appeared in 1626, the first English edition was printed only in 1716, thereby depriving the 17th century of its influence.

This work was written by More's son-in-law in a spirit of sincere admiration, and in full agreement with Erasmus' tribute that he was "a man of singular virtue and of a cleere unspotted conscience, more pure and white then the whitest snowe." (4) Springing from his long acquaintance, Roper's knowledge of More's public life was first-hand, comprising his time at Oxford, New Inn, and Lincoln's Inn, his periods of office as under-sheriff of London, speaker, and Lord Chancellor, his resignation, his imprisonment, trial, and death. The letters placed in the appendix also illustrate that aspect of More's life, as these include his correspondence with Thomas Cromwell and the King about his dealings with the nun of Canterbury, and with Cromwell about the Oath of Supremacy. (5) But amongst the letters are also intimate family ones, up to that addressed to his daughter, Margaret Roper, on the 6th July 1535, the day before his execution. (6) This more private side is what gives Roper's work its chief value - the picture he gives of his father-in-law, whom he knows as a member of his household. The breath of life returns to a public figure through such a passage as that where More, seeing Roper annoyed about a prediction - "Who, by these wordes perceavinge me in a fume, saide merrily unto me, 'Well sonne Roper, it shall not be soe, it shall not be soe.' Whome in 16 yeares and more, beinge in the house conversant with him, I could not perceave as once in a fume." (7)

Point by point, the character is built up, by his choice of the elder daughter as his wife lest she should feel grief and shame at the preference of the second, by his scrupulous honour as Lord Chancellor, by his devotion to his sovereign, although he realized that if his head would win a castle in France it would not fail to go, by his habits of simple piety, and his care for the spiritual welfare of his family. These give us a picture which lends dramatic consistency to his request to be relieved of his Lord Chancellorship, when the King was determined to marry Anne Boleyn, and to his resolute and upright defence at his trial. The picture is only completed by the moving story of his departure from his home, his imprisonment, and death.

The other biographical work of this period was also written by one with intimate knowledge, Cardinal Wolsey's Gentleman-Usher. Though a first edition appeared in 1667, after a period when the life remained in manuscript, it was not till 1814 that it was fully printed and recognized as being written by George Cavendish. In the beginning of the Life, Cavendish claims as a source of his information a little told him by another, but also his own knowledge of a man whom he served in his life, through his disgrace, and up to the time of his death. In Cavendish's biography, we see three influences at work in selecting his material, and, though these do not lead to distortion of the picture, they provide the light and shade of more deliberate biography.

The first is his determination to vindicate the truth and honour of his former master, claiming for him, "in my judgment, I never saw this realm in better order, quietness, and obedience, than it was in the time of his authority and rule, nor justice better ministered with indifferency." (8) The second is the particular angle from which Cavendish views Wolsey's life. His description of the preparations for the arrival of the French Embassy at Hampton Court, and the feast spread by Wolsey with the professional description of the various courses, is typical of Cavendish's position in the household. (9) Finally there is, running through the narrative, the writer's consciousness of the inconstancy of fortune. His reflection on Sir Amyas Paulet's not knowing that in the schoolmaster set in the stocks, he was penalising the future Chancellor of England, is only a forerunner of Cavendish's final summing-up, "Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogance of such men, exalted by fortune to honours and high dignities, for I assure you, in his time of authority and glory, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings that then lived, having more respect to the worldly honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should be all meekness, humility, and charity." (10)

While this was the melancholy thought that came to him at the end, during the life-narrative, however, Cavendish nowhere obtrudes it. We see Wolsey's vanity in his stage-managing of his appointment as car-



dinal and in the pageantry so vividly described of his procession from Westminster, richly dressed and preceded by the great seal, the cardinal's hat, and the two silver crosses, when he leaves London as ambassador to Francis I. (11) We see, too, his pomp and ability during the triumphant journeys through France; but we see also a humble devotion to his master in his kneeling beside Sir Harry Norris in the mud, on receipt of the message and ring from the King at the time of his disgrace. Equally careful is Cavendish to paint him as an affectionate master, and a charitable, generous, and zealous Archbishop of York. Like Roper, Cavendish possessed the power of working the events up to a dramatic climax, in which personality could display itself in action. Of such a quality are the scenes following the Earl of Northumberland's arrival at York, with the sudden arrest of Wolsey (12) - the banquet itself, the grief of the people, his journey south, his illness, and the indignant repudiation of the charge of embezzling £1500 from the King, "Ah, good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the king should think in me such deceit, wherein I should deceive him of any one penny that I have. Rather than I would, Master Kingston, embezzle, or deceive him of a mite, I would it were molt, and put in <sup>my</sup> mouth." (13) It is the consciousness of his own integrity which gives point to his famous words about serving his God as diligently as he has served his King, and that loyalty brings from him the solemn warning about the headstrong quality of the King; it is the commission of a dying man.

In both of these works, the character of those portrayed, itself was revealed in their public actions, as well as in their private, and their authors went on the principle recorded by Roger North, "When actions are honourable, the honour is as much the history as the fact; and so for infamy." (14)

Unfortunately, such a promising beginning in the biographic art was not followed up, and the next book suggestive of the study of personality disappoints one's expectations. In Overbury's Characters appearing from 1614 to 1622, he defined a character as being "a picture (reall or personall) quaintly drawne in various colours, all



of them heightened by one shadowing,"(15) but his characters are neither "reall" nor "personall." There is occasionally a vivid detail barbed, it must be confessed, with satire, such as that in a Braggadochio Welshman, "He accounts none well descended, that call him not Cousin; and preferres Owen Glendower before any of the nine Worthies." (16) In general, however, his characters are such as may be described proverbially. They are short outline sketches of people typical of their occupation - An Innes of Court Man, A Meere Scholer, - of their social position - A faire and happy Milk-maid - or with any other outstanding badge - An Oldman, An Affectate Traveller, An hypocrite. In Overbury we see the attitude of critical detachment which inspired the comedy of humours, but in his case using as its vehicle the Theophrastian character. They have much in common with the stock figures of contemporary dramatic literature, but despite the interest in human nature and its motives, the character is of "man" rather than of a "man." Finally, in Overbury's exposure of hypocrisy, greed, or even of folly, is not to be found the temper to display a single personality, with its subtle blending of weakness and of strength.

Following Overbury, Earle in his Micro-cosmographie of 1628, also adopts the form of the Character, with its generally objective attitude, its list of typical properties, and its general summing up. As far as this kind of characterisation can go, he takes it. Because his characters are less varied than with Overbury, in the type there seem to be incorporated elements of individual portrayal, which make the type more real. While he is still satirical, as in A pretender to Learning, and A vulgar-spirited Man, there is also his sympathetic treatment of people interested in the things of the mind, people belonging to the University life which he knew. His closing remark of A Shee precise Hypocrite, "She is an everlasting Argument; but I am weary of her;"(17) suggests a real counterpart for the character; while his attempt to describe not only the outer features, but the working of the mind, as in A modest man, enlarges the scope of this literary form to the point when it merges into biography proper.

During this period, because biography is not yet a distinct literary kind, in the histories we find the writers pausing to give a sketch of an individual figure of whom later writers might have given a separate biography. Clarendon, for example, in his *History of the Rebellion*, shows understanding both of character and its development in his study of Lord Falkland, who fell at Newbury in 1643.(18) From Burnet's *History* one of the best is his realistic painting of the Earl of Shaftesbury.(19)

Still another piece of writing showing an early interest in personality is the Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself. Like others which might have hastened the development of biography, however, it was destined to remain in manuscript till in 1764, the Earl of Powis, into whose hands it had come, gave it to Horace Walpole for printing. Lord Herbert describes, in his autobiography, with vigorous narrative skill, his exploits military and diplomatic, from his entry into public life at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. His two periods as French ambassador are covered by it, but the book breaks off soon after the account of his negotiations for the betrothal of Prince Charles to the Spanish princess. Because of its scope there move through its pages many of his contemporaries to whom he gives a vivid touch of life. Its chief importance, however, is twofold. First, it reveals with unflattering honesty the character of the writer. From his schooldays when he was corrected for cuffing two of his fellows, Lord Herbert shows himself as an inveterate duellist. Wherever he suspects a slight to his honour, or to those not in a position to defend it, he is ready for all comers. He shows himself in detail after detail to bring to life a naïve enjoyment. Also, however, we are made aware of his interest in study, an interest which caused him to sketch out a model of education, even recommending suitable books(20), and which made him write a treatise "De Veritate." This digression on the proper course of instruction is an example of the other feature of the book. Though Herbert excludes from it public events, except as they help to explain his own history he has not yet a clear conception of what is purely biographical mat-

erial, being willing to write of other things which may be of value to posterity.

Not the desire to benefit posterity, but the religious motive of disciplinary self-examination was that inspiring the diaries of the Scottish Covenanters of the 17th century. Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston, kept a diary from 1632-1639, and again from 1650-1654. Overcome by his own sinfulness, he pleads and argues with the Almighty, referring to himself on one occasion as, "the unworthiest, fillthiest, passionatest, deceitfullest, crookedest, backslydingest, rebellionest, perjurerst, unaiblest of all his servants." (21) After such an outburst, we feel that it is only by chance we are allowed to see his feelings towards his two wives, and to learn of his financial affairs, his habits, or his public activities. For a religious exercise also was written the diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie of which the extant manuscript begins at 1652. Though he feels it sinful to be over-interested in the growing of trees, he "made use of golfing for exercis of the body," (22) without feeling it a burden on his conscience. The importance of such diaries lies not in their influence as printed books, because most were not printed till long after, some as late as last century, or even this, by such agencies as the Scottish History Society; but it does lie in the obvious interest in personality, and in the recording minutely of its daily manifestations, limited though the angle of observation be.

No such disciplinary purpose inspired another MS. diary, that of Samuel Pepys, written from January 1, 1659/60 to May 31, 1669, and covering years when he laid the foundation of his fame. With these other diarists the clear purpose was their own edification and that of their families, but Pepys took every precaution to conceal his writing, by using a kind of shorthand, by introducing foreign phrases, and by confessing only to his trusted and admired chief, Sir William Coventry its existence. The reason is not far to seek. To the ordinary person of his day he was a quiet respectable civil servant, to his superiors an expert in naval matters, to the cultured John Evelyn and others like him a connoisseur in furniture, books,



and the other amenities of life. In the diary, however, though he reveals unsuspected courage, he discloses also his follies and weaknesses, setting them down with an almost scientific candour and meticulousness. Nothing bores him, and accordingly he is determined to put down everything - what he ate, what he thought of it, what he saw in the streets, his relations with his wife even if they should expose his ridiculous jealousy of Pembleton the dancing master, his love of the theatre, and his opinions of books where he will not feign an enthusiasm he does not feel. All this is done with a wonderful power of selection in detail. Trivialities with him are never insignificant; and the Great Fire becomes real to us when we hear of the Pigeons' burnt wings(23), in the same way as he himself becomes real when we learn that his wife's dress displeased him, "so that I was horrid angry and would not go to our intended meeting which vexed me to the blood"(24) The domestic scene, so large a part of man's life, he presents with a realism, which biographers were long before they could imitate.

At this time, an attempt was being made in still another direction to reveal personality. In 1689, the Rev. Richard Milward, for many years the secretary of John Selden, the jurist, scholar, and antiquary, published the recorded conversation of his master. The table-talk, noted down at the time, during the last twenty years of Selden's life and carried on almost to his death in 1654, was arranged for publication in alphabetical order. Even that, depriving the conversation of any setting, reveals to us a man active in public life, and versed in the literature of the East. His sayings on Ship-Money, and the House of Commons, and his pronouncements on Abbeys, on Canon-law, and on Hebrew law are conveyed as part of his experience of life. That same knowledge of life we are conscious of in his obiter dicta on abstract ideas, such as Patience, or social relationships, such as marriage. In these he appears as a man of strong, if scornful intellect, who sees behind the complexities to simple principles. To him there is no inconsistency between an attitude of critical detachment to the clergy, and sincere faith in Christianity. All this we hear expressed with an



almost homely piquancy. It is the voice of authentic speech when he discourses of "morall Honestye," and its relation to religion; "What care I to see a man runn after a sermon if hee cousen & cheats me as soon as hee comes home? On the other side Morallity must not bee without Religion, for if soe it may change as I see convenience, Religion must governe it, Hee that has not Religion to governe his Morallity is not a Dramme better then my Mastiff dog. so long as you stroke him & please him & doe not pinch him, hee will play with you as finely as may bee, hee's a very good morall Mastiff, but if you hurt him hee will fly in your face & tare out yo<sup>r</sup> throate."(25)

While these different books are in their own way attempts to portray personality, in Isaac Walton we have the first deliberate biographer whose work was published in his own day. Beginning with the life of Donne in 1640, he wrote in succession those of Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson, the last in 1678 when the author was in his eighty-fifth year. Walton's Lives are, in the main, records of the chief events in the lives of his subjects, including their education, the positions held by them, with any occupations which these involved, and the people with whom they were brought into contact, and ending with their death and the inclusion of their wills. Despite his naïve admission of ignorance at times, and of haste caused by the printer, Walton had both the opportunity and the inclination to find out the exact facts. He took trouble, for example, to get at the truth about three doubtful books of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy. The lives were written, mainly with personal knowledge of the people concerned and with access to important letters and papers, though it is interesting to see him adopting a similar method in the case of Herbert whom he knew only at second-hand. With Donne he had formed a friendship when Donne was vicar in St. Dunstan in the West; he was the companion of Sir Henry Wotton, who had in hand materials for the life of Donne, and at whose request he wrote it; for the Life of Wotton, which he was commissioned to write, he had access to the works and letters which he was afterwards to edit as Reliquiae Wottonianae; his mother was the sister of Mr. George Cranmer, the pupil and friend

of Richard Hooker; and with Dr. Sanderson he enjoyed a personal friendship.

This close association produced not only an accurate presentation of facts, but those characteristic episodes through which a man is remembered by his friends. In this class are Hooker's allowing Mrs. Churchman to choose a wife for him, because of his bashfulness and weak health, (26) Herbert's kindness to the old woman of Bemerton, (27) and Walton's accidental meeting with Sanderson in the street in London. (28)

That Walton was not entirely conscious, however, of the end of biography can be seen, in spite of the charm of the pictures he supplies. First of all, he carries to a fine art the habit of digression; the Life of Sanderson is marred by an account of the Quinquarticular Controversy (29) and of the dispute at the Savoy with the Nonconformists (30); after a long account of the ancestors of Sir Henry Wotton, one feels tempted to agree with Walton's comment, "But it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford!" (31) A second limitation is that, though knowing the person, Walton sometimes misses an important aspect of character. He quotes from the poems of Herbert, but the poet Donne is represented only by "A Valediction Forbidding to Mourn," and "An Hymn, To God the Father." The fact seems to have been that, though he mentions Donne's reluctance to take orders, he missed the conflict of spirit, of passion against spirituality that produced the reluctance. Thinking of Donne as a divine, Walton excludes a side of his personality revealed in his poetry. By so doing he has cut out a section of Donne's life reflected in his love poems, and has toned down Donne's character to his own more delicate colouring. Walton's didactic purpose can be seen partly in the people whom he chooses to write about, partly in the emphasis - such as quotations of Sir Henry Wotton's views on religious matters during his retirement at Eton - (32); and partly in the moral appended to his descriptions of their death. The closing comment on Donne, "Thus VARIABLE, thus VIRTUOUS, thus EXCELLENT, thus EXEMPLARY was the Death of this

memorable man,"(33) found its echo at the end of the other Lives. Unfortunately, it set the fashion for a combination of panegyric and didacticism which well-nigh proved fatal to truthful portrayal of character.

How that conception of biography works can be seen in its extreme form in Jeremy Taylor's Funeral Sermon on the Countess of Carbery. There, in 1650, he begs in the dedication to the be-reaved Earl to present him "with her picture, drawn in little and in water colours, sullied, indeed, with tears and the abrupt accents of a real and consonant sorrow, but drawn with a faithful hand and taken from the life."(34) Such, however, is far from being his achievement, for the noble qualities of "the dear departed saint" are enumerated like the heads of a sermon, and the treatment justifies more fully Taylor's other claim that it will teach people how to live, that "death shall not be an evil, but a thing to be desired."(35)

Meanwhile the interest in people's lives continued, and found expression in Fuller's History of the Worthies of England 1662. With the usual purpose of commemorating the dead, and presenting examples to the living, Fuller combined that of entertaining the reader. On this point he confesses the dullness of bare facts, and remarks that his must "be fleshed with some pleasant passages. To this intent I have purposely interlaced (not as meat but as condiment) many delightful stories."(36) In this work, Fuller has adopted the plan of dividing according to counties, and not only are the lives of the people born there described, but he includes accounts of the natural commodities, manufactures, medicinal waters, and everything else for which the districts are famous. The lives themselves are arranged by strict gradation, in classes, descending from Princes, saints, and martyrs to the catalogue of sheriffs. With such a field to cover, it is obvious that the best Fuller can do is to follow his sources about the facts of the hundreds of people represented. Frequent references to people like Bale occur, but the mention of documents such as Church Registers



suggests that the originals were as near as possible, on occasion, to the times of the person described. In addition, to his material Fuller displays a critical attitude, designating the accepted legends of St. Rumald as "improbable untruths".(37) Criticism on the score of facts he disarms at times by an admission of inadequacy, though elsewhere he claims to have done his best to ensure accuracy. Whatever be the correctness of the recorded details, it is, however, a very defective account which gives a brief sketch of Ben Jonson as bricklayer and student, then mentions his writing of plays but names none,(38) or which indicates the death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert as in 158. though the story of it is described, including the legend of the sea-lion.(39)

Although Fuller seems, in some instances, to miss the person's ultimate claim to remembrance, he does give us sketches with a vivid detail which, worked up and added to, would provide real portraiture. A good example of this combined failure and success is to be found in the omission of Herbert's poetry in the article about him, yet the suggestion of his piety, by his adding "My Master" to his mention of Jesus Christ, and his unwillingness to part with a leaf of the Bible for all the world. (40) Fuller's stories are, in the main, distinct from the facts he supplies, and are not yet employed as a means of character-drawing. That he can use a story for this purpose, however, is demonstrated by his anecdote of Queen Elizabeth's snatching his wand from an officer. She had claimed to be of the Quorum over an appointment, and when he corrected her by saying that she was of the Quarum rather, she had taken the wand saying, "You shall acknowledge me of the Quorum, Quarum, Quorum before you have it again." (41) To combine fact, story, and personal detail in the drawing of character was not yet the aim of the biographer.

However tentative their efforts may have been, the writers just named had attempted to show, in unvarnished and undisguised form, the character of their subjects. In 1668, Thomas Sprat prefixed to an edition of Cowley's works a life, exhibiting several of the



most undesirable features of biography. In his Account of the Life of Mr. Abraham Cowley, he claims to censure the Davideis "for I do not here pretend to professed Panegyrick," but panegyric could hardly go further than when he says of Cowley's poetry that it combines all the varied excellences of the ancients, which they themselves despaired "ever to compass all together." When defending his choice of a man not in a public position because his life is "a more profitable instruction," and "more beneficial for Example," he revives the didactic aim of biography. His pronouncement on the subject of familiar letters is still more notorious. After speaking of Cowley's letters, he says, "But I know you agree with me, that nothing of this Nature should be published. ....The truth is, the Letters that pass between particular Friends, if they are written as they ought to be, can scarce ever be fit to see the light. They should not consist of fulsom Complements, or tedious Politics, or elaborate Elegancies, or general Fancies. But they should have a Native clearness and shortness, a Domestical plainness, and a peculiar kind of Familiarity; which can only affect the humour of those to whom they were intended. The very same passages, which make Writings of this Nature delightful amongst Friends, will lose all manner of taste, when they come to be read by those that are indifferent. In such Letters, the Souls of Men should appear undress'd: And in that negligent habit, they may be fit to be seen by one or two in a Chamber, but not to go abroad into the Streets." (42) Thus did Sprat, with Cowley's letters at his command, deliberately decide against using this means, so much valued by later biographers, of revealing his friend's personality.

In his History, Bishop Burnet, as has been said, had a series of biographical sketches, but he also published separate lives the best being his Life of John, Earl of Rochester, whose death occurred in 1690. After recording the stages usually marked in biography - his parentage, his gifts at school, his University life, his period in Italy, and his exploits against the Dutch - the

author comes to the period of his personal acquaintance with Rochester; instead, however, of the picture's becoming more vivid and detailed, we are given a long account of conversations between the two, under the headings of morality, natural religion, and revealed religion, especially Christianity. The topics covered include the idea of worship, the mysteries, and the privileges of the clergy. In the section dealing with Rochester's last illness at Woodstock Park, while illustrative stories are given to show Rochester's undiminished faculties, and his control over his previous bad habit of swearing, Burnet's chief interest is obviously in the spiritual condition of his subject. Having, as he says, performed his duty as an historian, he proceeds to that of a divine, and concludes with a sermon to the licentious. No more than with Sprat was biographical truth his design, for he describes it as being "the reforming of a loose and lewd age." (43) Thereby it is linked with the Life of Sir Matthew Hale, in the Preface to which Burnet writes, "I have said little of his domestic concerns.....and shall avoid saying any thing of him but what may afford the reader some profitable instruction." (44)

Very different from these was John Aubrey, who, during the years 1669 to 1696 was collecting for Wood's Athenae Oxonienses facts which afterwards produced Brief Lives. Possessed of the boundless curiosity of Boswell, and a similar power of observation, Aubrey yet lacked his anchoring purpose. Nevertheless, his range both in time and type was a wide one. Outstanding figures from St. Dunstan to the reigns of Charles II and James II are included, and in his list appear poets, and prose writers, men of science, churchmen, statesmen, doctors, and lawyers. As in Fuller's case, this very width made exactness difficult, nor was his character such as to impel him to take trouble. Sometimes he was content with a date and an odd fact, as in the note on his mother, (45) or an epitaph as for Chapman, (46) for public figures share with less well known people this treatment; nor did his closest friends receive less scant consideration - witness two of those, Anthony Ettrick (47)

and Anthony Wood.(48) No attempt at scholarly research was made, and even in a longer, more elaborate life, such as that of Hobbes, complete with pedigree, his private and public careers, his opponents and critics, apologists and supporters, there are details not filled in, or "Quaere --"(49) Frequently, he contents himself with pieces of gossip heard from others, though of that he was an inveterate collector. The same spirit which made him during a convalescence consort with servants, rustics, and soldiers, and love to talk with old men, appears in his Brief Lives. An unexpected light is shed on Bacon's character by his refusal to allow servants into his presence, unless wearing boots of Spanish leather, because of his dislike of the smell of neat's leather.(50) Hobbes comes to life when we learn of his daily habits, and read, "I have heard his brother Edmund and Mr. Wayte (his schoole-fellowe) say that when he was a boy he was playsome enough, but withall he had even then a contemplative melancholinesse; he would gett him into a corner, and learn his lesson presently. His haire was black, and his schoolfellows were wont to call him 'Crowe'"(51). That attitude which, applied to contemporaries, regards them as ordinary human beings, not subjects for panegyric, and which inspired this of Milton - "Of a very cheerfull humour. He would be cheerfull even in his gowte-fitts and sing" - is surely one of the necessary constituents of biography. (52)

Though Dryden's interest in biography was aroused in consequence only of his work of translation, and though his actual practice contributed little, his comments on the portrayal of personality are still valid. To a translation of Plutarch's Lives by various hands he prefixed a Life of Plutarch, and for a translation, by various authors, of Lucian's Dialogues to appear in 1696 though it was not printed till 1711, he wrote a similar preface. Dryden's method in these biographies is similar - an account of the birth-place and other facts as drawn from the writer's works and such scanty contemporary sources as are available, an examination of the stories which Dryden thinks of doubtful authenticity, a discussion of the



character and religious outlook of the writer by inference from his work, and a consideration of the particular literary form chosen by the author, in the former case the "parallel lives" and in the latter the "dialogue". In addition, however, the Life of Plutarch contains the interesting distinction between the various types of history - Commentaries or Annals, History properly so called, and Biographia. He then proceeds to discuss the special qualities of each type. That the peculiar contribution of biography is the emphasis on the unofficial and human side he claims in the following passage, "But there is withal a descent into minute circumstances, and trivial passages of Life, which are natural to this way of writing and which the dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the rooms of state; here you are led into the private Lodgings of the Heroe. You see him in his undress, and are made familiar with his private actions and conversations.....The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you see the poor reasonable Animal, as naked as ever nature made him; are acquainted with his Passions and his Follies, and find the Demy-God a man"(53)

Such then were the principles observed, such the materials and methods used by writers before the end of the 17th century, and one might have expected both progress in and increase in the amount of biography during the age of Queen Anne. Pope spoke for his contemporaries when he declared

The proper study of mankind is man,  
and referred to him as

The glory, jest, and riddle of the world.

In the principles assumed in The Essay on Man, however, was not to be found that individual understanding necessary for biography. Even when a particular man was described, it was with the satire which made a partial truth better than the whole. The spirit of the Atticus portrait in the Prologue to the Satires was not one to understand a man's weakness as only the reverse side of his virtue.

Nevertheless, in the former Puritan, now middle-class, soc-



iety the soil was being prepared fruitful for biography. The frivolous diversions of the court and capital were not for them, but in the coffee-houses they developed an interest in their companions, an eye for the trivial action or utterance as a guide to another's mind, and a style of conversation, colloquial but cultured, natural but expressive. Without such preparation, it may be doubted if later biography would have been possible.

Meantime, we have from this soil two growths both of them touching at points the art of biography. In the essays of the Spectator there are the imaginary characters of the Spectator Club, and other sketches with their varied humours; but there is also the interest in all the minute concerns of humanity. The author of The Vision of Mirzah and On Immortality attracted public interest no less when he wrote On Patches and On Grinning; while the author of On Virtuous Independence did not disdain to write On Button Holding. (54) Secondly, there is, in the rise of the novel, an increasing demand for life-narrative. The novel adopts the form of biography or autobiography - a shape which it was to retain in a proportion of novels to the present day; on the other hand, biography has part of the fictional element of the novel.

This interest in human nature was satisfied also along one rather curious line. In Moll Flanders, Defoe had chosen as his heroine a person anything but moral, though in the novel he had preserved the moral standpoint. His heroine had been converted by hereditary and environment into a criminal, instead of being a rogue who delighted in her rogueries. From 1720 to 1726 he contributed to Applebee's Journal a series of actual criminal biographies. He applied to illustrious malefactors his now familiar realism, and worked up the dying confession of Jack Sheppard. Amongst the others was one on the famous Jonathan Wild, a topic to be used by the novelist Fielding in 1743. These works recognized that greatness is still greatness, even when it leads a person to the gallows. (55) The mood which accepted these, and welcomed The Beggar's Opera, sprang from curiosity about personality, whether

heroic, or even respectable.

In the period following this, we have examples of the continued interest in both autobiography and biography. Of the former, a typical example is An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian and Patentee of the Theatre Royal, Written By Himself.

Published in 1739, this autobiography, as its full title shows, is "interspersed with Characters and Anecdotes of his Theatrical Cotemporaries, the whole forming a Complete History of the Stage for th Space of Forty Years." Undoubtedly, the largest part of the book is concerned with this picture of the stage, for we have an account of the condition of the stage from 1660 to 1690, with portraits of the actors - Betterton, Kynaston, Nokes, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, and others, with reminiscences of the various plays in which they distinguished themselves. Accounts of the various theatre companies, including the King's and Duke's, the various theatres - Lincoln's Inn Fields, Drury Lane, and Haymarket - and the theatrical fashions such as opera and pantomime are also included. Bound closely with this is his career as actor, playwright, and manager in conjunction with that difficult couple, Dogget and Wilks, and later Booth. Its strongest interest, however, is twofold - the store of anecdotes with which he reveals his own character and that of others, and the more direct revelation of his own character by interspersed reflection and comment on his actions. As he remarks, in speaking of Dogget's reconciliation, by holding out his hand for some of Cibber's snuff, "If the reader, who may possibly think all this extremely trifling, will consider that trifles sometimes show characters in as strong a light as facts of more serious importance, I am in hopes he may allow that my matter less needs an excuse than the excuse itself does." (56)

In the realm of biography, one example is Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon. Despite the criticism by Warburton that in it Mallet had forgotten that Bacon was a philosopher, the book presents one or two interesting features. First of all, there is Mallet's emphasis on the fact that Bacon's actions must be judged as those

of anyone else, his view being thus expressed, "Though I shall dwell with pleasure on the shining part of my Lord Bacon's character, as a writer, I shall not dare either to conceal or palliate his blemishes, as a man." (57) This he does faithfully both with regard to the trial of Essex, and to Bacon's responsibility for the corruption of King James I's reign. Secondly, we find Mallet employing freely Bacon's letters, sometimes referring to them in the margin for a fact supplied in the narrative, and occasionally quoting the letter itself. Mallet, too, adopted the method of consulting wherever possible original documents of the times, such as State Trials; but here we come to the weakness of his work. While, on occasion, he can link Bacon with the historical background to which he belonged, showing the interaction of the man and his times, all too often Bacon's personality becomes lost in accounts of Queen Elizabeth's reign, of the times of James I and of his favourites, Carr, Earl of Somerset, and Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Bacon's personal habits are relegated to a foot-note, his philosophy to a kind of postscript, and the complete personality fails to emerge. (58)

The interest in the common man, showing in this period, and the recognition of the kinship between people marked out by fame and their less distinguished brethren, were expressed by Dr. Johnson in his Rambler and Idler articles on biography. In Number 60 of the Rambler, he had written, "It is, indeed, not improper to take honest advantage of prejudice, and to gain attention by a celebrated name: but the business of the biographer is often to pass slightly over those performances and incidents which produce vulgar greatness, to lead the thoughts into domestick privacies, and display the minute details of daily life, where exterior appendages are cast aside, and men excel each other only by prudence and by virtue," (59) Once more we have come back to the point stressed by Dryden in his Life of Plutarch.

Along with this must naturally come another stand against panegyric, which, to Johnson's truth-loving nature was abhorrent.



If Selden had condemned over-praise in an epitaph, "'tis as if a painter should make y<sup>e</sup> handsomest peice that he can possibly make; and say it was my picture," Johnson as strongly in the Idler Number 84, objected to the biographer who "Lessens the familiarity of his tale to increase the dignity, shows his favourite at a distance, decorated and magnified like the ancient actors in their tragick dress, and endeavours to hide the man that he may produce a hero." (60)

Even before he thus theorised about biographical truth, Johnson had shown his attitude in his Life of Richard Savage of 1744. Choosing as his subject a poet, Johnson had proved that a series of great public achievements is inessential, and he had, in Savage a man of <sup>whom</sup> Johnson himself had to admit that he was not so much a good man as a friend of goodness. Not one of Savage's failings, meannesses, acts of ingratitude, nay crimes does Johnson gloss over; for, not for a moment does he lower his own moral standards, but withal he is able, at the end, to say, "Those are no proper judges of his conduct who have slumbered away their time on the down of plenty; nor will any wise man easily presume to say, 'Had I been in Savage's condition, I should have lived or written better than Savage.'" (61)

It was fitting to discuss at this point Johnson's attitude to character in biography, but his handling of his materials falls more conveniently into the account of his Lives of the Poets, with which the Life of Richard Savage was later published.

Meanwhile, the fashion for biographical dictionaries had been growing. Amongst the best known from Fuller's History of the Worthies of England had been Theatrum Poetarum, or a compleat collection of the Poets, especially the most eminent of all ages, the Ancients distinguish't from the Moderns in their several alphabets, of 1675. Another was Athenae Oxonienses by Anthony Wood of 1691, and still another Biographia Britannica, or, the Lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages down to the present times:



collected from the best authorities, both printed and manuscript, and digested in the manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary, of 1747.(62)

In Cibber's Lives of the Poets, 1753, we find one of the last predecessors of Johnson's work. Of this series, Johnson claimed that it was not written, or even examined by either of the Cibbers, but was the work of Robert Shiels, "a native of Scotland" with whom he was associated at the time of his Dictionary. Raleigh's investigation on this head has established the lives which were not written by Shiels, and the possible influence of revision by Theophilus Cibber.(63) But the important point is that here we see the leaven of Johnson's influence. In numbers of cases the writer has had to depend for his facts exclusively on previous sources. Leland, Speight, and Stebbing provide material, for example, for Chaucer.(64) Wotton includes the facts and much quotation from Walton's narrative. Milton's life is produced by following closely Philip's Life, Birch's Critical Account, and the Lives of Newton and Richardson;(65) for it also reference is made to the work of Peck and Pearce, and Lauder's Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns. Somewhere in the lives he publishes a list of the author's works, with, in a number of instances, a critical comment. He has, thus, it is evident, consulted what he regards as the most reliable authorities, though even here his judgment comes in, for, in the Life of Chaucer, he discusses the various theories of the poet's birthplace, parentage, and education.(66) Here also we find the beginning of an element to be used increasingly by biographers - quotation from a writer's own work to illuminate his character and career. This the author does, for example, in the Lives of Spenser, Dryden, and Marvell amongst others. He also realises the value of information supplied by those actually knowing the subject of the biography. A letter of Pope is used about Addison's Cato.(68) and Pope and Swift are used for his Life of Gay.(67) In addition, his personal knowledge

is of value for people like Ambrose Philips and James Thomson, still more for a group of writers who are now, except to the specialist, mere names, if that.

In several directions, the attitude of Cibber, if we may call him that, is more developed. Whatever his achievement, he obviously believed that the more intimate side of a man's character is the special business of the biographer. It might lead him to recount the legends of Shakespeare's deer-stealing exploit, and of his holding the horses' heads at the theatre, but it caused him to declare that the little stories and particularities of a great genius are important, "for it often happens, that when we attend a man to his closet, and watch his moments of solitude, we shall find such expressions drop from him, or we may observe such instances of peculiar conduct, as will let us more into his real character, than ever we can discover while we converse with him in public, and when he appears under a kind of mask." (69) Such a motive inspired his attempt to give a picture of Milton, the man, by referring to his nature, and his manner of life, the latter learned from Milton's third wife. This attitude was responsible for his rejection, also, of the usual explanations of Milton's domestic troubles. (70) In the Life of Savage, particularly, is there this vivid detail, and here we see not only the general influence of Johnson, but material supplied by him, and acknowledged by the author. Occasionally, too, we find the use of anecdote in the portrayal of character, such as that of Thomson's loss of his handkerchief containing papers of introduction during his first visit to London. (71) This however, is not a common feature of the Lives. Lastly, there is a general attitude of detachment towards the character presented. Lauder's bitter attack on Milton is deprecated, but also the unreasonable praise which would raise Addison's character at the expense of Steele's. Had his attempt been less ambitious, one feels that the writer would have accomplished more in the way of character-drawing and in the development of biography.

A literary form thus developing, and thus popular, could not fail to attract Oliver Goldsmith. In this class are his Memoirs of M. de Voltaire, 1759 (left unfinished), Life of Dr. Parnell, 1768, and Life of Lord Bolingbroke, 1770, besides the most interesting of them all, the Life of Richard Nash Esq., written in 1762, after a visit to Bath when Nash was just dead. These biographies are of value in letting us see what could be done at this stage of development by a writer who was not specially a biographer. They enable us to judge what were then regarded as the aims of biography, and the accepted means of delineating character. On this last point, the weakest of them is the Life of Lord Bolingbroke, for, while Goldsmith suggests the development of his personality before his period of dissipation, and draws for us a picture of his way of living before his death, the bulk of the work is taken up with the outline of his public career, nor does he show that, as the expression of Bolingbroke's personality. With Voltaire, one touches on more areas of the subject's life, and Goldsmith indicates the character of Voltaire by comment and detail at intervals. Unfortunately, that lack of proportion which caused Goldsmith to include a large extract about his play of Oedipus Tyrannus, and an equally large extract from his dedication to Bolingbroke of his play on Brutus, prevents the due subordination of detail in character-drawing. The Life of Parnell, Goldsmith admits is deficient in "those nice distinctions" which separate one man from another, (72) for he himself did not know Parnell, and the information he has been able to procure is poorer than it might have been. Nevertheless, in this biography Goldsmith has kept clearly before himself the portrayal of character. Using letters from Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Jervas, and linking him with Swift, the author lets us see Parnell through the eyes of his friends, and share their interest in his occupations, and their appreciation of his worth.

With the Life of Nash, Goldsmith had the richest material and expressed most explicitly his aim. While Nash was not known



to Goldsmith when alive, his spirit, kindred in some respects to Goldsmith's own, still exercised the shadow of sovereignty in Bath, and that spirit Goldsmith strove to capture. After an account of Nash's early career, and his first attempts to entertain, the scene shifts to Bath in which Nash's remaining days were to be spent. Of these days Goldsmith refuses to gratify vulgar curiosity, saying, "Instead, therefore, of a romantic history filled with warm pictures and fanciful adventures, the reader of the following account must rest satisfied with a genuine and candid recital compiled from the papers he left behind, and others equally authentic; a recital neither written with the spirit of satire nor panegyric, and with scarcely any other art than that of arranging the materials in their natural order." (73) Though there is, on occasion, unnecessary material, for example the rules laid down by Nash to be observed at Bath, and those for his General Hospital, Goldsmith keeps before him the aim of showing how Nash appeared to his intimates. Gradually the character is built up from scene and anecdote, till we have complete - the gambler, man of fashion, and entertainer, yet one with a sense of fitness, a desire to keep young people, especially young ladies out of harm's way, a man with some wit, even if, later, it becomes merely insulting, and of genuine charity and generosity. We feel the natural consistency in the character, which at one time causes Nash to enter in the Accounts of the Masters of the Temple, ten shillings "For making one man happy," and at another gives rise to the amusing incident when he puts in a donation for a duchess. (74) The guineas, thirty in all, might from her exclamations of distress be drops of life-blood, but Nash is determined that she shall give in a manner worthy of a duchess. Goldsmith has succeeded in suggesting his likeness to, and his divergence from any other human being.

While Goldsmith offered no original contribution to the art of Biography, the next person calling for mention produced one of the first importance. William Mason, first mentioned by Gray in

1748, became more and more his friend till Gray's death in 1771, when he was left as Gray's literary executor. Possessed of a rich store of correspondence, Mason decided to use it in writing the life of the poet, arranging the letters in sections, introduced by a short connecting narrative. His intention is stated clearly in the first part, where he says, "In a word, Mr. Gray will become his own biographer, both in this and the rest of the sections into which I divide this work. By which means, and by the assistance of a few notes which I shall occasionally add, it may be hoped that nothing will be omitted which may tend to give a regular and clear delineation of his life and character." (75)

Such a clear delineation of Gray's life, his biographer undoubtedly achieved. His first section traces briefly the parentage and education of the poet to his meeting with Horace Walpole and the decision to travel with him. His letters to his friend, West, from Cambridge, are illustrative of this period. Section II covers the period of his foreign travels. The third section extends from his return on his father's illness to 1742, and includes his plan for, and the first part of, De Principiis Cogitandi. The period from 1742 to 1768 in which year Gray became Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, is that covered by the fourth section, and in it, including as it does, more connecting links between the letters, we learn of Gray's literary ventures such as the Elegy and the Pindaric Odes. Gray's appointment leads Mason to begin the last section with an account of the various fields of Gray's scholarship; and this section, ending with the poet's death, includes also a journal sent to Dr. Wharton who was to have accompanied Gray on a tour of the Lake District.

Not only have we Gray's method of spending his time, but we have here a series of letters which describe his more intimate reactions and feelings to those who formed his circle of friends - his parents, West, Dr. Wharton, Nicholls, Dr. Beattie, and Mason himself, to name some of them. They thus give most valuable knowledge of Gray's moods, interests, and character.

In those early Cambridge letters, how revealing, for example, is his remark to West that low spirits are his true and faithful companions, even going with him on visits, "but most commonly we sit alone together, and are the prettiest insipid company in the world"( 76). It may have been this natural melancholy which inspired Gray, as it did Dr. Johnson, with his enthusiasm for travel. At anyrate, his enjoyment of this, and the romantic appreciation of wilder scenery are amply displayed in the descriptive letters written to his parents and friends; in particular, his visit to the Grande Chartreuse is recorded with the same strain of awed enjoyment later to be expressed about the English Lake District. Gray, the classical scholar, is also suggested by the Latin odes sent to his friends, and the description of a visit paid to Alba. More and more we realise, as we advance, the qualities which prevented Gray from ever producing a vast volume of work; we realise that it was not fear of public opinion, but some inner compulsion, or constraint, which limited his poetic output. In the letters, too, we see Gray in his relations to other people; with his sympathy, and humanity. From the heart comes his advice to Nicholls to care for his mother; only too late had he discovered that a man can have only one mother. "It is thirteen years ago, and seems but as yesterday, and every day I live it sinks deeper into my heart."(77)

From such impressions, it would appear that Mason had completely surrendered himself to the guidance of Gray in the portrayal of character and in the handling of his material. The inclusion of a letter in which Gray, speaking of Mason's Ode to a Water-Nymph, (78) gives his first impressions of Mason, not altogether favourable at that, seems to confirm his transparent honesty. Mitford, however, by publishing an edition of Gray's correspondence, dispelled that illusion about his use of the letters. From the first edition of Gray's correspondence in Volume II of the Works of Thomas Gray, published in 1816, right to the end of his life, Mitford worked on it, adding new material as letters from the Rev. Norton Nicholls and others came into his hands. Recent work, such as that by



Toynbee and Whibley, reveals that his edition contains variations from MSS., such as the Egerton and Toynbee, differences of punctuation, filling out of names indicated only by Gray, omission of phrases, of parts of a letter, such as the first three paragraphs and the postscript of a letter to Wharton Dec. 2nd 1758.(79) Sometimes, too, he is content to follow Mason rather than the MS. version; for example, in the letter of Nov. 9th, 1758, Mitford accepts Mason's euphemism of "an old woman" for "the Dragon of Wantley's Dam" by which Gray had designated his aunt, Mrs. Oliffe.(80) On occasion, too, his correction is at fault, as when he follows Wharton's endorsement of a letter as April 26, 1746; Mason's date of April 26, 1744 is, from the reference to Akenside's Pleasures of the Imagination, (published anonymously 16th Jan. 1744), (81) obviously the correct one. This same letter shows also Mitford's lack of accuracy in detail, since the reference to Fraigneau, Fellow of Trinity, and Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge from 1744 - 1750 is read by him as Traigneau. (82) Despite these facts, and also that, for some of the letters, Mason is still our only authority, for it was his policy to destroy, wherever possible, the evidence which might asperse his editorial good faith, Mitford's edition of 1816 is valuable. It enables us to see that Mason regularly cut Gray's letters, without indicating the fact, and exercised other editorial privileges. Amongst those marked by Mitford as imperfectly reproduced by Mason, most were addressed to Dr. Wharton, though three deal with the publication of Algarotti's work and were addressed to How. One principle on which Mason worked was the exclusion of all reference to internal Cambridge disputes about which Gray wrote to Dr. Wharton. This explains the omission, for example, in the first letter of Group IV of gossip about the Vice-Chancellor(83) as well as the dispute about the election of Knowles, Mason, and Tuthill in the letter of March 9th 1748-9.(84) This may have been due to what Mason felt of general interest as much as from reasons of discretion; from the latter, Mason replaces names by stars. In other instances, the introductory part of a letter is

omitted, rendering Gray's opening sentence as printed by Mason almost unintelligible. In the body of letters similar liberties are taken. The omission of the reference to his De Principiis Cogitandi, as "Master Tommy Lucretius", in a letter of April 26th 1744, makes it difficult to understand who is the "puling chit" of whom Gray writes. (85) Not content with omissions, Mason goes further, and, without acknowledgment, combines parts of letters written at different dates and under different circumstances. One of the first examples is typical of the others. He takes a letter dated Dec. 11th 1746 Cambridge, begun "I would make you an excuse (as indeed I ought) if they were a sort of thing I ever gave any credit to myself in these cases;" and, apart from changing one phrase, continues to the end of his discussion on wealth. (86) According to Mitford, supported now by the Egerton MS., Gray now goes on to refer to College proceedings, but Mason follows with a paragraph from a letter dated by Mitford Sept. 11th 1746 about the value of Historical consolation in time of trouble. Omitting two paragraphs about common acquaintances, Mason takes part of the next one in it, about Wharton's reading of Thucydides and Gray's of Aristotle. Finally he misses from that letter the conclusion mentioning the peace with Spain. He even goes so far as to date a letter June 14th 1756, and to use for it part of a letter dated by Mitford Aug. 21st 1755, along with sections from Oct. 18th 1755 and Oct. 15th 1756. (87) Still more inexcusable, since it displays Gray's character falsely, is the case of the letters consoling Dr. Wharton on the death of his son. The letter of April 9th 1758, of pure sympathy, was followed by one of June 18th in which Gray urges his friend to overcome his continued low spirits, and raises the question of an epitaph. (88) These two topics, natural after the lapse of months, Mason causes Gray to obtrude unfeelingly at a time of bereavement, by his telescoping of the two letters. The last printed letter of Mason, dated May 24th 1771, is made up of sections from letters of 24th Aug. 1770, 24th May 1771, to Wharton, with the interpolation, as shown by Toynbee and Whibley, of a

sentence to Norton Nicholls of 20th March 1770.(89) By his manipulation<sup>he</sup> gives as his final impression Gray of the settled melancholy, whereas, in actual fact, the letter ends on the more hopeful note of "Adieu."

Grave though this indictment is, to Mason we owe a debt of gratitude - his influence on Boswell, and despite his editorial unreliability, we must admit his final claim, "I might have written his life in the common form, perhaps with more reputation to myself; but, surely, not with equal information to the reader, for whose sake I have never related a single circumstance of Mr. Gray's life in my own words, when I could employ his for the purpose."(90)

Spence's Anecdotes, first printed by Malone in 1820, but circulated widely in manuscript form from the days of Wharton and Johnson, who first used it, was another work in which a deliberate attempt was made to depict personality. While the central figure is Pope, whose sayings about himself and others are recorded, stories told by others are also included. We thus have many characteristic details about people from a slightly earlier period, or contemporary with him. Dennis provides the story of Otway's death, Lockier anecdotes about Dryden, and Townley the story of Dr. Garth's attempted suicide. It is to Pope, however, that we owe the story of the visit by Gay and himself and Swift's solemn presentation to each of half-a-crown for the meal they had not eaten; and of Addison some very acute things are said - for example, when at Pope's instigation Gay refrained from publishing ridicule of Addison's and Steele's plays, "it would have made Mr. Addison appear ridiculous, which he could bear as little as any man."(91) As has been said, the fullest and clearest sketch is that of Pope himself. By anecdote and comment, we learn of Pope's early satirical bent, the rareness of his laughter, his physical courage, and his love of reading and writing; we are also able to follow the course of his literary projects from his Essay on Criticism to his imitations of Horatian satires. All this we might have learned or inferred from his writings; but to Spence we owe three very illuminating stories



about Pope, in his last days, stories which shed light on another side of Pope's character, and which Johnson used later in his Life of Pope - the story of Hooke's reminding Pope about sending for a priest, with Pope's reply; Bolingbroke's emotion over the loss of his friendship; and his comment earlier, when told that Pope kept saying something kind of present or absent friends, "I never in my life knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a more general friendship for mankind." (92)

- (1) Raleigh Sel., 127-133. (2) Dryden Plut., 56. (3) Lee Princ., 9.
- (4) Roper, 1. (5) Roper, 125-144. (6) Roper, 161-162. (7) Roper, 43.
- (8) Cavendish, 3. (9) Cavendish, 91-97. (10) Cavendish, 248-249.
- (11) Cavendish, 59-60. (12) Cavendish, 207, f. (13) Cavendish, 240.
- (14) North, I, 4. (15) Overbury, What a character is. (16) Overbury, F4.
- (17) Earle, No. 52. (18) Smith, 71-86. (19) Smith, 230-232.
- (20) Herbert, 27-52. (21) Ponsonby, Diar., 35. (22) Ponsonby Diar., 49.
- (23) Ponsonby Pep., 110. (24) Ponsonby Pep., 129. (25) Selden, 83.
- (26) Walton I, 346-347. (27) Walton II, 77-78. (28) Walton II, 251-252.
- (29) Walton II, 239, f. (30) Walton II, 273-282. (31) Walton I, 200.
- (32) Walton I, 252-257. (33) Walton I, 157. (34) Taylor, ccccl.
- (35) Taylor, 470. (36) Fuller, 2. (37) Fuller, 129. (38) Fuller, 243.
- (39) Fuller, 261. (40) Fuller, The Principality of Wales, 46.
- (41) Fuller, 67. (42) Cowley, Sprat. (43) Burnet, 171. (44) Burnet, 8.
- (45) Aubrey I, 33. (46) Aubrey I, 161. (47) Aubrey I, 250. (48) Aubrey II, 311.
- (49) Aubrey I, 325. (50) Aubrey I, 71. (51) Aubrey I, 329. (52) Aubrey II, 67.
- (53) Dryden Plut., 60. (54) Addison, 401, 147, 256, 271. Steele, 73, 229.
- (55) Baker, III, 190, 219-220. (56) Cibber C., 416. (57) Mallet, 2.
- (58) Mallet, 124-125. (59) Johnson IV, 384. (60) Johnson VII, 340.
- (61) Johnson Lives II, 142. (62) Dunn Biog., 261-264. (63) Raleigh Johns., 119-125. (64) Cibber T., I, 1-17. (65) Cibber T. II, 108-148.
- (66) Cibber T. I, 97. (67) Cibber T. III, 313. (68) Cibber T. IV, 250-253.
- (69) Cibber T. I, 124. (70) Cibber T. V, 32-66. (71) Cibber T. V, 195.
- (72) Goldsmith, 476-486. (73) Goldsmith, 514. (74) Goldsmith, 518, 542.
- (75) Gray Mas., 134-135. (76) Gray Mas., 152. (77) Gray Mas., 482.

- (78) Gray Mas., 304. (79) Gray Mit., II, 326-327, Gray T. & W. II, 600-602.  
 (80) Gray Mas., 378 Gray Mit., 324. Gray T. & W. II, 593.  
 (81) Gray Mas., 293, Gray Mit., 150. (82) Gray Mit., 150, Gray T. & W. I, 225  
 (83) Gray Mas., 290, Gray Mit., 142. (84) Gray Mas., 314-316, Gray Mit., 192-5  
 (85) Gray Mas., 294, Gray Mit., 150 -Wrongly dated.  
 (86) Gray Mas., 294-295, Gray T. & W. I, 255-256, 240-241, Gray Mit., 164-  
 166, 157-159. (87) Gray Mas., 352-353, Gray Mit., 259, 265, 277.  
 (88) Gray Mas., 374-376, Gray Mit., 307-310.  
 (89) Gray Mas., 485-486, Gray Mit., 561, 566, 567, Gray T. & W. III, 1114.  
 (90) Gray Mas., 490-491. (91) Spence, 138. (92) Spence, 77-78.

## Chapter II

## Johnson, and his Biographers.

Lives of the Poets - material; characterisation; criticism.

Johnson and biographical frankness. Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides - character and conversation of Johnson; dramatisation of scene. Mrs. Piozzi's Anecdotes. Madame D'Arblay's Diary.

Hawkins' Life of Johnson - its scope, and limitations. Boswell - biographical equipment. Boswell's Life of Johnson - sources of information, and written material; personal detail; anecdotes; conversation; Johnson's circle; artistry of biography. Murphy's Essay.

The developments discussed in the last chapter bring us to a writer, himself a great biographer, and the inspirer of a still greater - Dr. Johnson. Begun as Prefaces Biographical and Critical, and appearing from 1779 to 1781, Johnson's Lives of the Poets cover the poets of any note from Cowley to Johnson's own day. The fact that the earlier part from Chaucer, at one time to be included, was dropped from the final plan may perhaps be explained by Johnson's conviction that satisfactory biography could be written only from personal knowledge, or from knowledge but slightly removed from that. In the first part of each biography Johnson sets out to tell the principal facts of a person's life, not even excluding his will in some instances. It was this desire to miss nothing which impelled him to give an account of Milton's pamphlets, and, however reluctantly, of Dryden's dramatic works, not excluding the violent controversy between him and Settle. Naturally, with such a large field, Johnson was indebted to others for facts, and his sources were freely acknowledged - the Biographica Britannica for Garth, Addison, and Yalden, and Goldsmith for Dr. Parnell, to take but a few instances; while, in the Life of Young, before the criticism of his works is inserted bodily a letter by Herbert Croft, giving the requisite information.(1) On other occasions, by such phrases as "I know not," or "I believe," Johnson quite frankly admits his ignorance of fact.



This part of the Lives, the least characteristic, derives, however, its accuracy from a variety of reasons. First, there is the writer's habit of scrutinising with fairness and sturdy common-sense the various traditions he has received; Milton's career as a schoolmaster is one example of this.(2) Accuracy would not apparently result from the mood of the remark in the Life of Dryden, "To adjust the minute events of literary history is tedious and troublesome; it requires, indeed, no great force of undrestanding, but often depends upon inquiries which there is no opportunity of making, or is to be fetched from books and pamphlets not always at hand."(3) By his own confession of not reading for many years the plays of Congreve he was criticising, and by anecdotes such as Boswell's telling of Johnson's refusal to meet the Earl of Marchmont to obtain information about Pope,(5) we learn of Johnson's cavalier treatment, at times, of his material. Johnson, however, did make many independent inquiries, even though these might not always be fruitful. He himself admits that his inquiries about Fenton, Mallet, and others have been in vain. The tradition of Pope's having written a defamatory Life of Swift he later tested from the Earl of Marchmont, who was able to refute it;(6) nor did he always accept an author's version of a story. Pope's account of the Odyssey, and the division with Broome and Fenton was the subject of inquiry, Johnson referring to the manuscript in the Museum.(7) The most valuable check, however, was provided by Johnson's wide acquaintance with the literary world of his day. Of many of the subjects, Johnson had either personal or traditional knowledge. Sprat's manner of preaching he had learned, in his youth, from his father,(8) and Collins was amongst his personal acquaintances.(9) This, in turn, was supplemented by the regular use of letters and accounts by the people themselves - such as Thomson's letter to his sister, shown to Johnson by Boswell.(10)

Now, these last two features are useful for ensuring accuracy, but Johnson employs them for a second purpose - to provide the vivid detail which gives life to a Life. Even where Johnson had no

personal knowledge to guide him, we see his emphasis on such points as Milton's appearance, his habits of composition, manner of sitting in a chair when dictating, and his dependence on the seasons. (11)(12) The build and pulpit delivery of Watts seem to Johnson worthy of mention, and he is at pains to discover the domestic habits of Pope. (13) Naturally, it is the Life of Savage where such details are used most extensively, and with most revealing effect. The poverty which made Savage write on scraps of paper picked up in the street and with pen and ink borrowed in a shop, the sharing his only guinea with the woman whose perjury had nearly cost him his life, and his superstitious regard for punctuation in his work, may seem trivial enough details, (14) but Johnson realises that they are windows into the soul of his subject. Two other features of this life show that Johnson understood the principles of character-drawing. By describing the treatment of Savage by his mother, the influence of Steele, and the effect of Savage's environment, (15) Johnson shows the development of character through all the experience of a man's life. Secondly, Johnson realises that in a vivid scene, such as Savage's trial for the murder of Mr. Sinclair, the figure so carefully painted, can be made to step out of its frame, and behave like the man himself. (16)

Into these Lives, Johnson introduced a new element - the detailed criticism of the works produced by the writers, and, in some cases, an account of their general contribution to English literature. That Johnson had certain prejudices, preconceptions, or fixed ideas, which affected his judgment of an author, or of his work, no-one will deny. Such was, for example, his rooted dislike of pastoral poetry, a dislike which caused him to condemn those poems of Pope and Gay, Lyttelton's Progress of Love, Shenstone's Pastoral Ballad, and Lycidas itself. In the case of Lycidas, a second prejudice appears - Johnson's disapproval of the use of mythology. In the Life of Waller we see that his ground of objection was that such mythology is now outworn, and no longer represents realities. This dislike of the "puerilities of obsolete mythology,"

reinforced by his views on metre, explains the condemnation of The Bard, and The Progress of Poesy.(17) It is obvious that to Johnson the heroic couplet was the ideal poetic form, and divergence from it, whether by Pindaric irregularity, or by blank verse, a serious defect. Lastly, from the depth of his piety, Johnson disapproved of religious poetry; Cowley's Davideis, Waller's Sacred Poems, and Milton's Paradise Lost, as well as other poems, gave opportunity for him to express the feeling that the highest religious experiences and conceptions are on a loftier plane than poetry can produce; "to recommend them by tropes and figures is to magnify by a concave mirror the sidereal hemisphere."(18)

Despite those limitations, he does not, however, present to after-times a distorted or unfair picture of a writer's claim to poetic eminence. In the first place, Johnson, writing at the end of a lifetime of service in literature, was able to speak with understanding of the difficulties obstructing an entrant to the world of letters, or even one who had established for himself some reputation - his well-known remarks, in the Life of Pope, on the causes of delay in writing provide an example of this.(19) Secondly, Johnson brought to his judgment of literature the same sturdy common-sense which guided his selection and presentation of facts. This, combined with his innate modesty, caused him to regard the average person as the best judge of literature; as he expressed it in his praise of Gray's Elegy, "by the common sense of readers, uncorrupted with literary prejudices, after all the refinements of subtilty, and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided all claim to poetical honours."(20) Finally, Johnson's criticism was influenced by his desire to be as fair as possible even to types of literature which did not specially appeal to him. Typical is the remark about Pope's edition of Shakespeare, "but let him not be defrauded of his due praise;"(21) if he censured blank verse, he gave fair appreciation of its use by Milton, Young, and Thomson; if he blamed the faults of the Davideis, he praised where he could. It will thus be seen that Johnson established a new convention -



that in writing the life of a literary figure, it is part of the biographer's function to give some estimate of his literary achievement. What Johnson did not do, and what his method in the *Lives* prevents, is to show how the qualities which a man displays in his private life reflect his personality as revealed in his published work. It may be that, in part, this is due to the kind of poetry that Johnson was generally discussing. Not in the objective quality of the poetry appealing most to him, do we find the personal outpouring of the Romantics. So much, however, is the poet dissociated from his work, that Johnson does not hint at the link between Milton's own life and Samson Agonistes, nor at the private feuds embalmed in Pope's satires. This identification of a poet and his work was still to come.

Before leaving the Lives of the Poets, we must see what was Johnson's attitude to, and what his influence upon the question of how much truth about a person's character should be revealed after his death. Voltaire's pronouncement, "We owe consideration to the living; to the dead we owe truth only," might well have been Johnson's, for, after a generous compliment to Dr. Sprat, the biographer of Cowley, he goes on to say, "but his zeal of friendship, or ambition of eloquence, has produced a funeral oration rather than a history: he has given the character, not the life of Cowley; for he writes with so little detail, that scarcely anything is distinctly known, but all is shown confused and enlarged through the mist of panegyric." (22)

This does not mean that Johnson believed that the whole truth should be published, for, important as is truth is, in discussing the dispute between Addison and Steele shown by The Old Whig, he writes, "The necessity of complying with times, and of sparing persons, is the great impediment of biography. History may be formed from permanent monuments and records; but *Lives* can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told; and when it might be told it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discrimination of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct, are soon obliterated; and it is surely better

that caprice, obstinacy, frolic, and folly, however they might delight in the description, should be silently forgotten, than that, by wanton merriment and unseasonable detection, a pang should be given to a widow, a daughter, a brother, or a friend." (23)

Where, however, truth compels Johnson to reveal a man's weaknesses or vices he does not shrink from his task; but truth, as well as his own fairness, has allowances to make wherever possible. Of Richard Duke, he hopes that the young man thought and talked rather than lived viciously, and that his later age condemned his youthful faults; (24) in Milton, he condemns the failure to hold family prayers, but suggests that Milton's reform of this omission was perhaps intercepted by death; (25) while, best known of all, and most generous from such a fervent Church of England man as Johnson, is the defence of Dryden's change to Catholicism - "I am willing to believe that Dryden, having employed his mind, active as it was, upon different studies, and filled it, capacious as it was, with other materials, came unprovided to the controversy, and wanted rather skill to discover the right, than virtue to maintain it. But inquiries into the heart are not for man; we must now leave him to his Judge!" (26)

Himself a great biographer, Johnson has proved to be a subject of perennial interest to writers of Lives. Scarcely was he dead than biographical sketches began to pour from the press. In 1775, (27) Johnson had published the Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland undertaken with James Boswell in 1773, but, in Boswell's account, the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D. of 1785, undoubtedly the most important words are "with Samuel Johnson;" for, in it, we find Boswell doing, on a smaller scale and with a more limited field, some of the things which he was to do in his Life of Johnson. Even at the time of the Tour, we find Boswell planning to write the Life of Johnson and with this end in view, inquiring of Johnson about certain facts, which he wrote down. (28) Though he confesses, on occasions such as his visit to Sir James Colquhoun at Lochlomond, his failure to record his

companion's conversation, throughout he keeps a minute account of the sayings of his friend; nor is this his first venture, for he claims to have a vast store of Johnson's conversation from the beginning of their acquaintance in 1762, and "by assiduous inquiry" can make up for not knowing him sooner. (29)

It will thus be seen that in the Journal, Boswell's first intention is not to give, as Johnson did, an impression of the places visited, and to grasp the system of life existing in the Western Isles, but to portray Johnson seen against an unfamiliar background, and in circumstances where Boswell can enjoy his company undisturbed. Boswell's reverential love for Johnson, which made him fonder of his little daughter Veronica because of her obvious liking of the visitor, (30) made him regard the smallest detail about Johnson as important. He therefore supplies the reader with a detailed sketch of Johnson, before coming to his arrival in Edinburgh. His intellectual gifts, his religious views, his melancholy, his voice, his personal appearance and address are all described, including the large English oak stick, and the capacious pockets which could have held two volumes of the Dictionary. (31) Similarly, in the course of the Journal, he inserts such personal idiosyncrasies as Johnson's wearing of a handkerchief instead of a nightcap, his passion for fresh air, and his habit of speaking to himself, repeating sometimes parts of the Lord's Prayer. Johnson's great physical strength is also mentioned, illustrated by a story of Beauclerk's how Johnson once separated, by cuffing their heads, two fighting dogs. (32) Even Johnson's mood on certain occasions he thinks worthy of record, saying of his visit to Aberdeen, "Never did I see him in a better frame; calm, gentle, wise, holy." (33)

Though this inclusion of vivid personal detail was to be part of Boswell's technique in the complete life of Johnson, of still greater importance is his use of conversation, as a means of revealing Johnson's character. Knowing his companion's conversational powers, Boswell deliberately stimulated them, and claimed the merit of introducing topics for discussion; (34) the great mill of Johnson's



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mind he never willingly left without material. In consequence of this, and of their varied experiences, we are able to read Johnson's mind on such diverse topics as the authenticity of Ossian, his repugnance to the life of a sailor, and his rooted dislike of the Presbyterian form of worship.(35) Nevertheless, Johnson's passionate regret for the decay of St. Andrews, and his anger at John Knox do not prevent him from saying, on the mention of dinner, "Ay, ay, amidst all these sorrowful scenes I have no objection to dinner."(36) Thus does Boswell give to his portrait the stamp of humanity.

This recording of conversation, however, is developed till, in the portrayal of character, he dramatises certain scenes, so that background, actors, and dialogue become fused. In this class are Johnson's visit to Parliament House, with Boswell's complaint of the loss of Scottish independence at the Union, and Johnson's scornful retort of their treatment of Mary, Queen of Scots, "and such a Queen, too! as every man of any gallantry of spirit would have sacrificed his life for,"(37) their voyage in Rasay's boat, with the singing of the Erse song, and Dr. Johnson seated "High on the stern, like a magnificent Triton,"(38) and, perhaps best of all, the scene in the inn at Glenmorison, their evening talk, their hesitation about risking the beds provided, their brief disagreement, and their last words before Johnson fell asleep.(39)

The early intention of writing Johnson's life, and the technique already so fully developed, helped Boswell to produce a biography whereby Johnson is today one of the most living literary personalities. While not one of the others who tried to give a picture of Dr. Johnson had anything like his mastery of biographical methods, it is of value to see what they did, which Boswell either could not, or did not do for Johnson.

An important supplement to the impression given us by Boswell is to be found in the Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson, by Mrs. Piozzi of 1786, and in the early part of the Diary of Fanny Burney, later Madame D'Arblay. Against Mrs. Piozzi's picture of Johnson must, of course, be set the fact that she was in some degree unreliable.

This appears in the famous story of her relatives' being spitted like Larks for Presto's supper, where her inaccuracy, revealed by Baretti, and recorded by Boswell, might be due to her failure to appreciate Johnson's horror at her levity of mind.(40) It appears equally in Johnson's own vexation at her inaccuracy; "Do talk to her of it; I am weary," Boswell in the Life records as a remark of Johnson's about Mrs. Thrale.(41) A second consideration which must be borne in mind is that the picture of Johnson presented in the Anecdotes was one coloured by the breach between the friends, caused by her second marriage. This naturally made her stress Johnson's unpleasantness to the other visitors, and his increasing difficulty as a guest, a difficulty which hastened her retiral to Bath after Mr. Thrale's death.(42) In spite of the general absence of plan, this book does enable us to see aspects of Johnson's character in greater relief than they appear in "Boswell".

The same strong Tory sympathies as Boswell stresses, the same piety, the same incredulity about wonderful tales, the same dilatoriness to begin writing, but facility in composition, appear; but more is made of those qualities only obvious to people with whom he lived in close, intimate, domestic relationship. Such, for example, is the story about his jealous desire to preserve his health and particularly his sanity, when Johnson shut himself up, during a spell of gloom, to do intricate arithmetic.(43) Another series of stories shows Johnson's powers of humorous improvisation;(44) while still a third shows that, despite Johnson's rough answers, he had no desire to hurt. On this topic, she shows that Johnson often made ample amends for a temporary impatience, as with the young man who asked if he ought to marry.(45) To Mrs. Piozzi we owe Johnson's claim that Mr. Barnard was the only man who ever did justice to his good breeding, "and you may observe that I am well-bred to a degree of needless scrupulosity. No man is so cautious not to interrupt another; no man thinks it so necessary to appear attentive when others are speaking; no man so steadily refuses



preference to himself, or so willingly bestows it on another, as I do; nobody holds so strongly as I do the necessity of ceremony, and the ill effects which follow the breach of it; yet people think me rude."(46) In Boswell, we miss the qualities which made him join at Streatham in the games of children, and any innocent amusement which was on hand.(47) Mrs. Piozzi's own claim sums up her achievement as well as any; having seen him passing the evening of his days amongst friends, and knowing him best through his talk and his acts of private charity, she writes, "Mine is a mere candle-light picture of his latter days, where everything falls in dark shadow except the face, the index of the mind; but even that is seen unfavourably, and with a paleness beyond what nature gave it."(48)

In Madame D'Arblay's Diary, we find some anecdotes of Johnson such as his famous defence-cum-criticism of Hawkins,(49) and his love of wit in woman, whether her character be of the most respectable or not.(50) Here also, however, the special contribution is the picture of Johnson in surroundings different from those in which Boswell saw him. His love of children and his delight in indulging them, his criticism of women's clothes in which he prefers grace to fashion, his open praise of the Thrales, and his sense of fun and playfulness are all brought out.(51) Above all, we see his fondness for and kindness towards herself. His love of a jest we see in the sketch of Johnson see-sawing, "with a countenance strongly expressive of inward fun," at the thought of the controversial combat with Mrs. Montagu on the following day;(52) and this combines with his fondness in the jesting names which he calls Fanny Burney.- "'Oh, she's a toad!' cried the doctor, laughing - 'A sly young rogue: with her Smiths and her Branghtons!'"(53) But it is not always thus he shows his affection. He detains her to talk with him in the library; he withdraws the attention of others when he sees it vexes her; he warmly praises her work, and strengthens her against the attacks of newspaper critics; while even against increasing bodily weakness and pain, he tries to be kind and unruffled in her presence, only calling to her as she leaves him, "Remember me in your prayers."  
(54)

Valuable and interesting as these may be, they are but supplements to a life of Johnson, and reveal his personality during a part only of his life, and under special circumstances. The task of his official biographer, Sir John Hawkins, whose Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D. appeared in 1787, was a more difficult and a more extensive one. Hawkins' personal acquaintance with Johnson was of long standing, since he mentions himself as one of the original nine members of the Ivy Lane Club, formed in 1749,(55) was also a member of The Club, though he seceded from it owing to the lateness of its hours,(56) and his friendship only terminated with Johnson's death, when Hawkins became his executor. He was thus in a position to recount details of Johnson's literary labours, and to learn from his own lips, or those of his friends, circumstances of his earlier life. This he does, recounting at intervals various characteristics of his subject. Of Johnson's University period, he mentions Johnson's great memory, adding "I have heard him repeat,"(57) and speaking of the way of life during Johnson's friendship with Savage, he says "Johnson has told me."(58) Two things appear even here, however, which differentiate Hawkins and Boswell - first that Hawkins shows a greater disposition to take on trust such stories as Johnson's verse on tramping on the Duck,(59) and secondly that Hawkins shows less power of selection in his material. Whereas Boswell uses only the part concerning Johnson's combined ability and idleness, and his winter pastimes, Hawkins includes the whole of the account supplied by Mr. Edmund Hector about his schooldays. (60)

In his outline of Johnson's life, Hawkins does something new in biography. He lets us see the background against which the works were written, both personal and social. He notes, for example, how, in writing the Rambler, Johnson not only followed his own bent, but satisfied the need of society at the time(61) and in the mood of Rasselas he sees reflected Johnson's own feelings.(62) This element, however, a useful one in the portrayal of character, seems almost accidental, for it soon gives place to such public events as Johnson's degrees and his pension.

Those personal details which Hawkins was able to supply are naturally of first importance towards an understanding of Johnson's character - for instance his politics, his attitude to writing for money, the fondness of Johnson for his wife, as seen from notes in books which she read, now the property of Hawkins, and as suggested by Garrick's mimicry of Johnson's gallantry to her.(63) He is able also to give the reader Johnson's manner of life at the various houses which marked his progress towards prosperity. This personal contact enables him also to speak of Johnson's love of argument and his humour, contributing to the mirth by his witty sayings and stories. This gift is not, however, illustrated, despite Hawkins' ample opportunities. Perhaps the most continuous use made of his own intimacy by Hawkins is in the description of Johnson's declining faculties, and the months preceding the death of his friend. To this period belong the description of Johnson's fear of insanity and horror at the prospect of death, his relations with Mrs. Thrale, the negotiations with Lord Thurlow, the making of Johnson's will, and the moving journal of his last days.(64)

The infrequency with which the points of Johnson's character seem to come to life is, all things considered, remarkable. It may, in part, be due to Hawkins' failure to use his details to suggest the personality of the person whom he describes. The story of Johnson's knocking down Osborne the bookseller, for example, is not used to illustrate the irascibility of Johnson, but as a melancholy example of the condition of writers.(65) On numbers of occasions such opportunities are missed. The record of Johnson's interview with the King - an interview which Hawkins does not know to be accidental or not - terminates with the King's famous compliment on Johnson's writing more. Johnson's appreciation of the compliment is omitted, and his typical reply when asked if he had made any answer, "No, Sir. When the King had said it, it was to be so. It was not for me to bandy civilities with my Sovereign."(66) Even when he describes vividly the making of Johnson's will, an artistic handling of the material is lacking, for Johnson's first intention to leave Francis



Barber £70 is separated by several months from the making of the will. (67) Almost the only scene done with complete vividness, indeed, is the occasion of the celebration for Mrs. Lenox's book which was ready in the spring of 1751. We see the elegant supper, and the hot apple-pie, stuck, at Johnson's instigation, with bay-leaves. "About five, Johnson's face shone with meridian splendour, though his drink had been only lemonade." (68) This picture, however, ends with a sentence almost as revealing of Hawkins as the preceding part is of Johnson; after describing his own weariness, and the toothache which would not yield to the attentions of Dr. Bathurst, Hawkins concludes, "I well remember, at the instant of my going out of the tavern-door, the sensation of shame that affected me, occasioned not by reflection on any thing evil that had passed in the course of the night's entertainment, but on the resemblance it bore to a debauch." (69) Here, it may be, we have found one reason for Hawkins' failure compared with Boswell, to give us a satisfying picture of Johnson's character, - his inability to forget himself in the process.

Undoubtedly, three other factors at least played their part. First, in spite of his opportunities for information, there is too much conjecture. Even of facts, he uses such phrases as, "I conjecture," "I conceive," or "We must suppose." But his habit he also carries into the portrayal of character, by trying to guess the motives for Johnson's rejection of Garrick when he was first suggested for the Club. (70) In the second place, there is the obtrusion, at various points, of his personal opinion and censure, giving rise to Boswell's accusation of malignity. That Johnson's personal habits repelled him can be seen by his speaking of Johnson's not needing a man-servant; "the great bushy wig, which throughout his life he affected to wear, by that closeness of texture which it had contracted and been suffered to retain, was ever nearly as impenetrable by a comb as a quickset hedge; and little of the dust that <sup>had</sup> once settled on his outer garments was ever known to have been disturbed by the brush. In short, his garb and the whole of his external appearance was, not to say negligent, but slovenly, and even squalid; to all

which, and the necessary consequences of it, he appeared as insensible, as if he had been nurtured at the cape of Good Hope!"(71) In addition, he censures Johnson for his dogmatic manner, for his illuse of his time, and for his intensity, combined with remissness and indolence. He blames him for his choice of friends, for his credulity about the Cock Lane Ghost, and his inability to judge works of imagination, as evidenced by the Lives of the Poets. So strong is this tendency, that he refuses to believe that between Johnson and his wife there could be a genuine warmth of affection, and he even adds a postscript whose sole purpose is to blame Johnson for his generosity to his black servant, rather than to Humphrey Heely, a distant connection by marriage, whom Johnson had helped in his life-time, and who had confessedly no claim to assistance.(72) Lastly, there is Hawkins' failure to appreciate that only what is of importance in the life of Johnson, or what is going to illuminate his character, is of value, and that other people should not be allowed to overcrowd the picture. This failure leads him into endless digression. In connection with Johnson's translation of Lobo's book, he thinks it necessary to give an outline of the material in the Voyage to Abyssinia, (73) his mention of Cave leads to a digression on the history of the Gentleman's Magazine, (74) and so he continues throughout the book; indeed, he blames Johnson for not giving facts about the history of Icolmkill during the Tour to the Western Isles, and proceeds to supply the deficiency.(75) Although the copied letters are fewer in number than in Boswell, Hawkins prints long extracts from Johnson's works, yet of these the extract from Rasselas is almost the only one to reflect the author's character. He is most tempted to digress when he refers to Johnson's contemporaries, for to Hawkins Johnson was not as to Boswell a giant among pigmies, the object of his hero-worship. The mention of the Dictionary leads to an outline of Lord Chesterfield's life, (76) which even he feels needs an excuse, and the remark, "I have not taken upon me the office of his lordship's biographer." The Ivy Lane Club, and the Club give rise to brief lives of the members, now no more. It must, then

be admitted that, with all his advantages of subject and information, Hawkins is important as a lesson on how not to write a biography; and to his successor, Boswell, we must look for the greatest advance in the technique of character-drawing and for the perfection of the finished portrait.

Now, it must be confessed, as Virginia Woolf points out in Orlando, that a person may well have a thousand selves, and that a biographer can only depict six or seven of these. It has been seen, too, that some of the "selves" making up Samuel Johnson were not known to James Boswell, sides which appeared to Mrs. Thrale and to Fanny Burney, but, for several reasons, the great man of letters was depicted better by Boswell than by anyone else. First of all, in none of the people who wrote about Johnson was there his passionate devotion, and his assiduity in gleaning the slightest detail, or the minutest characteristic. The attitude of Boswell to his great subject can be inferred by a passage in the Memoirs of Dr. Burney, where we find described Boswell's inattention to the voices of others present, "But the moment that voice burst forth, the attention which it excited in Mr. Boswell amounted almost to pain. His eyes goggled with eagerness, he leant his ear almost on the shoulder of the Doctor; and his mouth dropt open to catch every syllable that might be uttered; nay he seemed not only to dread losing a word, but to be anxious not to miss a breathing; as if hoping from it, latently, or mystically, some information;"(77) it appears also in Mrs. Thrale's condemnation of Boswell's habit of retiring to the other end of the room to record the sayings of his hero;(78) and on several occasions in the *Life*, he speaks of the nights spent in writing, lest he should omit anything of importance uttered by Johnson in the hours passed in his presence.(79) As Macaulay pointed out, in his anxiety to show Johnson to the world, Boswell paraded before it the very weaknesses of his own which the majority of men would keep most secret.(80) It may be doubted, however, if Boswell was as blind to his own ridiculousness as Macaulay supposed. The enthusiasm which could, in defiance of personal comfort, make him sit up writing for four nights in one week alone to record Johnson's talk,



might well induce him to display his own follies, if thereby Johnson were the more truthfully drawn. This, then, is his second quality - the desire to tell the truth about his subject. He might have been obeying Walt Whitman's command to Traubel in giving his record, "Whatever you do, do not prettify me," and later, "You'll be speaking for me many a time after I am dead; do not be afraid to tell the truth - any sort of truth, good or bad, for or against; only be afraid not to tell the truth." (81) While he objected to Hawkins' "dark uncharitable cast" which put the worst construction on the character and conduct of his friend, he would have agreed with Johnson, writing in a letter to Dr. Burney about his edition of Shakespeare, that "he who claims for himself or another the honours of perfection injures the very reputation he designs to assist." (82) He will not, as he retorts to Pennant, so far forget the discrimination of character taught him by Johnson as to omit his frailties in the drawing of his character. (83) Finally, in his portrayal of Johnson's personality, Boswell had before him much more clearly than any previous biographers save Mason, and Johnson himself perhaps, his purpose and method of procedure. After telling of his long-considered intention to write Johnson's life, his inquiries, and the communications he has received, he goes on to say that it is his purpose to "produce, wherever it is in my power, his own minutes, letters, or conversation.....Indeed I cannot conceive a more perfect mode of writing any man's life, than not only relating all the most important events in it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote, and said, and thought; by which mankind is enabled as it were to see him live; and to 'live o'er each scene' with him as he actually advanced through the several stages of life." (84)

In such a minute and truthful picture of Johnson, with one great difficulty Boswell was faced at the outset; Johnson was fifty-four before Boswell met him, and of the remaining time, as Dr. Birkbeck Hill has shown, Boswell did not spend quite two years and two months in the same neighbourhood. (85) Croker, too, has shown that including the Hebridean Tour, lasting about three months,

they spent only 276 days together, and Boswell, in twelve visits to England, met Johnson only about a hundred and eighty times.(86) Where he was unique was in his use of those meetings, and in the way he filled up the gaps, for even after they met, such gaps existed. Between Dec.8th 1763 and Jan.14th 1766, also between Nov,10th 1769 and June 20th 1771, there was not even the exchange of letters. What then did Boswell do?

For the first part of Johnson's life, he was indebted to Johnson himself, and to his old friends. Here we find Boswell exercising his critical faculty, and inquiring diligently in order to reach the truth. Miss Anne Seward's story of the Sprig of Myrtle verses he checks by reference to Mr.Edmund Hector, Johnson's old school-friend, saying indignantly in a controversy which this aroused, and which was carried on between them in the Gentleman's Magazine, that as his book "was to be a real history, and not a novel," it was necessary "to suppress all erroneous particulars, however entertaining."(87) Mr. Edmund Hector indeed supplied Boswell at intervals with facts which he used in the work, a fact which he acknowledges in writing about a visit to Birmingham in March 1776, when these are still further augmented.(88) Hector, too, was one of those to whom Boswell owed information about Johnson's death.(89) For Dr.Adams' account of the University period, and a story about the writing of the Dictionary, Boswell also makes acknowledgment.(90) Dr.Taylor, also an old friend, and school-fellow, supplied other information; in fact Boswell wrote down in Dr. Taylor's presence the facts communicated, and induced him to sign the paper.(91) The periods after Boswell made Johnson's acquaintance were frequently filled out by information supplied by other members of the Club, and London friends not thus connected with Johnson. Topham Beauclerk, Bennet Langton, Dr.Burney, Sir Joshua Reynolds, as well as less famous members of Dr.Johnson's company, such as Mr.Maurice Morgan,Mr.Hoole, and Mr.Byng were amongst those who contributed to his store.

Another great source, however, was Johnson himself. The inform-

ation imparted might take the form of reminiscence, or it might be the answer to Boswell's questioning, on which the information extracted was written down in Johnson's presence; but this Boswell supplemented by extracts from Johnson's Prayers and Meditations, later published by his friend Strahan, and by letters to a variety of people, and sometimes theirs to, or about him. By means of these letters Boswell is able to mark his Public and literary career, from the early letters to Cave, begun in Nov. 25th 1734, (92) and including those dealing with all his chief literary productions, up to the Lives of the Poets. We have, too, in the letters, correspondence marking his failing health - those to Mr. Edmund Allen, Dr. Taylor, Boswell himself, and others. (93) So valuable did Boswell think all that Johnson wrote or said, that there is included not only Johnson's accounts of his visits to France and to Lichfield, but his opinions on various legal points about which Boswell consulted him. (94)

The same desire for accuracy is manifested in the trouble taken by the biographer to record the publication of Johnson's works, and every detail about them which he can find. Under the various years, he puts a list of the works, tells how he tried to get Johnson to claim or deny each, and from his own manuscript copy, he gives, without any very obvious reason, the variant readings for a number of the Lives of the Poets. (95) Not even the pecuniary transactions with booksellers does he omit, if he knows these. In such a mass of material, it is not wonderful that an error should occasionally creep in. such as the dating of a letter from Boswell as July 9th 1777, when he mentions again writing to Johnson on 23rd June, and it is succeeded by Johnson's reply of July 7th. (96) The wonder is that generations of editors should have found so few.

It is obvious, however, that of Boswell, this was simply raw material, it being undoubtedly the case that the chief events in Johnson's life have to be sought out from amongst other material. His chief business was the definite portrayal of Johnson's personality. Though using Johnson's letters less freely than Mason did Gray's, he employs them to indicate his public achievements, but still more



frequently do we have the inclusion of letters dealing with the intimate concerns of himself and his friends. While they may be useful to fill a gap, when Boswell was not in his neighbourhood, their cumulative purpose and effect is for characterisation. A selection illustrates his wisdom, his honesty, his kindness to his friends, his vivid interest in all their doings, his genuine benevolence, as seen in the letters to Francis Barber, his courtesy to ladies, even those who, as he guesses with Mrs. Boswell, do not like him, his modesty and respect for the judgment of others, as in his letters to Reynolds about Goldsmith's epitaph, his candour when he thinks Boswell needs rebuke, and his warm affection to those who have won his heart. After a tender reference, in a letter of Aug. 27th 1775, to Mrs. Boswell and "the little dear ladies," we find him thus patient with Boswell's need for reassurance, "Never, my dear Sir, do you take it into your head to think that I do not love you; you may settle yourself in full confidence both of my love and my esteem; I love you as a kind man, I value you as a worthy man, and hope in time to value you as a man of exemplary piety. I hold you, as Hamlet has it, 'in my heart of hearts.'" (97) We see, too, in these letters, Johnson's willingness to exert himself to help any whom he could honestly assist. In the letters, written to so many of his friends, and with such effort, which mark his closing days, we see his fortitude in the face of illness and pain, his gratitude to his medical friends for their help, and his desire not to complain. (98) Even in these last days, there is no relaxing of his strong hold on life, or diminution of his interest in the things of the mind. (99) That Boswell realised the value of these letters for his portrait can be seen by his care in keeping them, and even the duplicates of those he himself had written, lest any of Johnson's references should become unintelligible.

A second means adopted by Boswell to bring before the world a life-like representation of his friend is the use of vivid personal detail, both of Johnson's appearance and his habits. He may go back to Miss Porter's account of Johnson's early appearance, with



his bony frame, and his scrophula, and his convulsions, (100) or he may describe, from his own companionship, the mannerisms and habits of the great moralist. Johnson's habit of pious ejaculation, his counting the steps at the entry to his house, his rubbing of his knee, and his saving of orange peel are included, no less than a description of his habit of keeping the anniversary of his wife's death, and his steadfast abstinence on Good Friday. (101) Speaking of Goldsmith's Life of Parnell, Johnson had maintained, "Nobody can write the life of a man, but those who have eat and drunk and lived in social intercourse with him," (102) and it is from this social intercourse that Boswell lets us see Johnson's kindness and courtesy to those whom he sheltered. This kindness prevented his rejecting tea into which Mrs. Desmoulins had inadvertently put milk, although his observance of Good Friday had made him refuse to look at a proof-sheet of the Life of Waller. (103) It also made him order for Mrs. Williams some delicacy when Boswell and he were to be dining together. (104)

Thirdly, Boswell gives in illustration of Johnson's character anecdotes both from his own knowledge and that of others. Here, however, there is selection from those at his disposal, as, in the anecdotes given him by Langton, and used for the year 1760, he omits two which are to be found in Boswelliana, one saying that James did not know enough Greek to be sensible of his own ignorance, and the other about a young man to whom Johnson was afraid to show the bottom of his ignorance. (105) It is significant that Boswell consigns to a note Johnson's will, while he incorporates in the Life the story of how, after consulting Dr. Brocklesby, he decided to leave Frank £70. (106)

His desire to combine accuracy with as favourable a view of Johnson as possible explains part of his animosity towards Sir John Hawkins, and Mrs. Thrale. His annoyance at Hawkins for attributing to Sir Joshua Reynolds the activity over a grant for Johnson's proposed visit to Italy, when he could have found from Thurlow that Boswell set it in motion, was not solely a personal one. (107) Johnson

might say with coolness regarding the stories scattered about him, "The value of every story depends on its being true. A story is a picture either of an individual or of human nature in general: if it be false it is a picture of nothing;"(108) but Boswell felt it the duty of a faithful biographer to point out previous inaccuracies, to ensure a just impression of his subject's character, With this end in view, Boswell, on more than one occasion, questioned Johnson about the genuineness of an anecdote, and in the Macpherson feud induced Johnson to dictate to him an authentic copy of the letter which he had sent to his Ossianic foe.(109) Provided he was sure of the truth of the story, Boswell was prepared to borrow stories from Langton, Beauclerk, Davies, and others to illustrate Johnson's physical prowess, his habits, and his character.

Combined with these stories, is what is perhaps Boswell's greatest innovation - the recording at length of Johnson's conversation. Over and over again do we find Boswell's meticulous care and accuracy, of which the interview with the King is but one illustration. Of this he says, "The particulars of this conversation I have been at great pains to collect with the utmost authenticity from Dr. Johnson's own detail to myself;"(110) and goes on to mention his other sources for it - Mr. Langton, Mr. Barnard, and a minute lent by Sir John Caldwell. When he slumps together conversation belonging to different periods, Boswell is careful to mention the fact, and, in May 1775, he expresses his regret for the imperfection of his notes because he did not write them out at length as his custom was, and much is thus irretrievably lost.(111) It is noteworthy that Johnson's conversation at the Club is less freely reported than elsewhere - partly perhaps because of the condition of membership, but also because Johnson's attendance was not over-regular, and the motive for reporting would then be absent. So eager was Boswell to treasure Johnson's conversation, that, on their meeting an old school-friend, Edwards, in Butcher-row, Boswell suggested that he should there and then visit Johnson at Bolt-street, so that he might have the pleasure of hearing what should pass between the friends.(112) This keenness



to hear the voice of Johnson led Boswell, on occasion, to offer subjects of discussion, such as the future life, duelling, and ghosts; and on April 14th 1772 we find Boswell so desirous of calling forth Johnson's wit, even though he should be the object of it, that he introduced the defence of indulgence in wine.(113) Though on occasion Johnson resented being "baited," or "put to the question," he delighted in a genuine play of wit on subjects begun by others.

Boswell, it is clear, realised that at least two types of talk were frequent with Johnson. There was the kind in which Johnson "talked for victory," and of which Boswell said, in reply to Johnson's "Well, we had good talk," "Yes, Sir, you tossed and gored several persons;"(114) but there was also the kind represented by the incident where Johnson felt the rebuke in Lord Newhaven's remark about the Middlessex election, that he spoke to be instructed, and to a complimenting nobleman bowed low, almost to the table, and replied, "My Lord, my Lord, I do not desire all this ceremony; let us tell our minds to one another quietly."(115) It was of this kind of discussion Johnson was also thinking when he spoke of the possibility of Boswell's living in London, and of the nights which they would spend by themselves talking, "That is the happiest conversation where there is no competition, no vanity, but a calm, quiet interchange of sentiments."(116) Not only, however, does Boswell give us the types of talk, but he gives us the very accent of Johnson's voice. We feel that the condemnation of The Rehearsal - "It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction" is not less natural to Johnson, but only the complement of the preceding remark, "It has not wit enough to keep it sweet."(117) To give us this, Boswell is prepared, having accustomed himself to the Johnsonian Aether, to use his own phrase, to Johnsonianise any of the conversation reported to him, to take from what Johnson said on different occasions only the best, and most characteristic, to combine, condense, and repress, to substitute, and touch up, all within the framework of Johnson's style.

The very form of the conversation recorded Boswell uses as a mirror to reflect the personality of his subject, but still more,

of course, the opinions and attitudes which that conversation expresses. Because in the biography there is such a proportion of talk, we are able to plumb Johnson's mind at different points. First of all, we are able to see reappearing those settled prejudices and convictions already suggested in the Journal. Johnson's humorous scorn of the Scots, his disbelief in the authenticity of Ossian, his passionate love of London which was to him the very pulse of life, and his veneration for the clergy, linked with his deep piety are but a few of these. Secondly, however, we see that Johnson's mind was not a mechanism, but there were points on which his opinion differed at different times; side by side with his contempt for the acting profession was his discriminating praise of Garrick, and his courtesy to Mrs. Siddons; (118) and though he was generally scornful of musicians, and insensible to the power of music, we find him wishing Dr. Burney to teach him the scale, and saying that he would be glad to have another sense given to him. (119) This verges on the most constant element in Johnson's character - his profound veneration for the truth. To see one aspect of it unemphasised was enough to rouse Johnson to the attack, and, as Boswell points out, his "No, Sir," was a veritable flag of defiance. To clear one's mind of cant, was only more important than speaking with sincerity.

Boswell, however, does not try to give us the voice of Johnson speaking in a void, but shows us him against the background of his contemporaries. On one occasion, for example, we hear Goldsmith's use of "the big man" to refer to Johnson. (120) We also overhear conversations at General Oglethorpe's, or with Mrs. Thrale, Beauclerk, and even Wilkes. (121) We see, too, how differently Johnson reacts to different people in his conversation.

The truth is, however, that Boswell seldom uses any one element separately even for conveying a fact, still less for portraying character. For the gap during the years 1744-1747 he builds up, by means of narrative, personal detail, letters, and reports of conversation, a picture of the lexicographer, during the period

when the Dictionary was in progress.(122) Similarly, he draws on a variety of sources and material for the period of Mrs. Johnson's death.(123) Perhaps most characteristic of all is the section dealing with Boswell's journey to Harwich in the company of his friend. First of all, there is the discussion with a gentlewoman, a fellow-traveller, on her method of bringing up her children by keeping them constantly busy, and Johnson's comment, "I wish, madam, you would educate me too; for I have been an idle fellow all my life;" this is followed by Boswell's confusion at being indicated as another idle fellow, and Johnson's pooh-poohing of his embarrassment; later in the day we have Johnson's defence of the Inquisition. The journey is now described, with Johnson's occupation and conversation enroute, thus giving the opportunity for details about Johnson's eating, and his relish of food, to this being also added what he said of food on other occasions; then comes their arrival at Harwich, with Johnson's rebuke about using big words for little matters; next comes the visit to the church, which gives rise to a discussion of Berkeley's philosophy; finally, there is the parting on the quayside, and Boswell's last glimpse of the lonely figure left behind.(124) In the most elaborately woven sections, it can be seen that the affairs and conversation are linked with a particular place, be it Ashbourne, Oxford, Streatham, or somewhere else.

The habit of using together these elements for the portraying of character is developed still further to the point of dramatising little scenes in the Life. One instance will suffice to illustrate this habit, though the scene when Johnson defended a man for marrying a printer's devil might have served equally well(125) - that in 1763 when Johnson first became personally known to his biographer. To this meeting Boswell leads up carefully, by mentioning his failure to obtain an introduction through Sheridan. The scene is laid in Davies' back-shop; the agitated Boswell is introduced as "from Scotland," but proceeds to excuse himself, a temptation which Johnson is quite unable to resist; already, however, Boswell recovers enough to keep a minute of the conversation and to interpose



a remark about Garrick; again comes a check from Johnson, but on Davies's assurance that Johnson likes him very well, we find his courage rise, and a few days later the acquaintance is renewed, an acquaintance so momentous for both men.(126) The final impression conveyed by Boswell's use of his materials is of a living personality, so that we know Johnson more intimately than many of our contemporaries.

Before leaving the biographers of the 18th century, it is of interest to see how much a successor of Boswell, using similar material, could learn from his technique in the revealing of personality. Such a ~~successor~~ is to be found in Arthur Murphy, who, in 1792, published his Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson. His avowed purpose is to produce in a more portable form the information conveyed in Hawkins' Life, and naturally the material in this part follows the outline adopted by previous writers. From Hawkins, however, he learned the habit of digression which allows him to include in such a brief Life a considerable extract from Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, and an account of Dr. Williams, the father of Mrs. Williams.(127) From Murphy had come the remark that Johnson was "incomparable at buffoonery," thus suggesting that he could supply vivid details from his personal knowledge. Undoubtedly he does supply this on occasion, such as his visit to Johnson after his stroke, when he found Johnson reading Watson's Chemistry;(128) but he does not seem to realise the value of his own material, for the account of his meeting with Johnson is not his own, but one borrowed from Mrs. Piozzi.(129) A second weakness is that he has not Boswell's conscientious accuracy, for he is content to retail as illustrations of Johnson's character anecdotes which Boswell had repudiated. Too frequently he loses his purpose in indignant protest against Sir John Hawkins' insinuations - "Professing to be Johnson's friend, that biographer has raised more objections to his character, than all the enemies of that excellent man."(130) Finally, he generalises over Johnson's character and idiosyncrasies, only occasionally making these real to us by example. The difference between Murphy and

Boswell cannot be better explained than by referring to the Review on Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay in the Quarterly Review. "In the picture, what we want is not merely a collection of unexceptionable lines and colours so presented as readily to identify their original. Such a work is not the man, but a duly attested certificate of the man.....In the same way, what we want in a biography, and what, despite the etymology of the title, we very seldom find is life." (131) This is Boswell's main achievement, that, by his mastery of technique, he brings before us, as no-one else has done, the living, speaking, acting personality of his friend and hero.

- (1) Boswell IV, 58. Johnson Lives II, 327-361. (2) Johnson Lives I, 62-3.
- (3) Johnson Lives I, 202. (4) Johnson Lives II, 8. (5) Boswell III, 344.
- (6) Johnson Lives, II, 210. (7) Johnson Lives II, 175. (8) Johnson Lives I, 306. (9) Johnson Lives II, 315. (10) Johnson Lives II, 289.
- (11) Johnson Lives I, 83, 90-1. (12) Johnson Lives II, 296.
- (13) Johnson Lives II, 203-5. (14) Johnson Lives II, 77-8, 86, 93.
- (15) Johnson Lives II, 71-5. (16) Johnson Lives II, 81-3.
- (17) Johnson Lives II, 389-90. (18) Johnson Lives I, 174.
- (19) Johnson Lives II, 160. (20) Johnson Lives II, 392. (21) Johnson Lives II, 174. (22) Johnson Lives I, 1. (23) Johnson Lives I, 345-6.
- (24) Johnson Lives I, 297. (25) Johnson Lives I, 92-3.
- (26) Johnson Lives I, 207. (27) Johnson Journ., v-vii.
- (28) Boswell V, 312. (29) Boswell V, 364. (30) Boswell V, 26.
- (31) Boswell V, 16-9. (32) Boswell V, 329. (33) Boswell V, 88.
- (34) Boswell V, 264. (35) Boswell V, 95, 137, 251-2. (36) Boswell V, 63.
- (37) Boswell V, 40. (38) Boswell V, 162. (39) Boswell V, 136-9.
- (40) Piozzi, 43. Boswell IV, 347. (41) Boswell III, 243. (42) Piozzi, 185-8
- (43) Piozzi, 53. (44) Piozzi, 43-51, 108. (45) Piozzi, 64-5.
- (46) Piozzi, 26. (47) Piozzi, 133. (48) Piozzi, 157. (49) D'Arblay I, 66.
- (50) D'Arblay I, 88. (51) D'Arblay I, 82-4. (52) D'Arblay I, 117.
- (53) D'Arblay I, 77. (54) D'Arblay II, 329. (55) Hawkins, 250.
- (56) Hawkins, 423-5. (57) Hawkins, 17. (58) Hawkins, 53. (59) Hawkins, 6.
- (60) Boswell I, 48. Hawkins, 7-8. (61) Hawkins, 260-5. (62) Hawkins, 366-71

- (63) Hawkins, 314. (64) Hawkins, 556-589. (65) Hawkins, 151.  
 (66) Hawkins, 459. Boswell II, 35. (67) Hawkins, 563. (68) Hawkins, 286-7.  
 (69) Hawkins, 286-7. (70) Hawkins, 425-6. (71) Hawkins, 327.  
 (72) Hawkins, 602. (73) Hawkins, 22-6. (74) Hawkins, 29-32.  
 (75) Hawkins, 479. (76) Hawkins, 177-80, 178. (77) Fitzgerald, 196.  
 (78) Piozzi, 31. (79) Boswell I, 461-2. (80) Macaulay, 170.  
 (81) Traubel I, ix. II, xii. (82) Boswell I, 500. (83) Boswell III, 275n.  
 (84) Boswell I, 29-30. (85) Boswell I, 11n. (86) Boswell Croker, I, xiin.  
 (87) Boswell I, 92n, II, 467n. (88) Boswell II, 459. (89) Boswell IV, 375.  
 (90) Boswell I, 59, 73, 186. (91) Boswell IV, 375-6. (92) Boswell I, 91-2.  
 (93) Boswell IV, 228f. (94) Boswell II, 389-401, II, 461-473, III, 59-63.  
 (95) Boswell IV, 36-62. (96) Boswell III, 116-123. (97) Boswell II, 383-4.  
 (98) Boswell IV, 362-9. (99) Boswell IV, 384. (100) Boswell I, 94.  
 (101) Boswell I, 484-5, I, 236, III, 300, 313. (102) Boswell II, 166.  
 (103) Boswell III, 300, 313. (104) Boswell III, 341. (105) Boswell IV, 33n.  
 (106) Boswell IV, 400-4. (107) Boswell IV, 327n. (108) Boswell II, 433.  
 (109) Boswell II, 297. (110) Boswell II, 34n. (111) Boswell II, 372.  
 (112) Boswell III, 303. (113) Boswell II, 187-8. (114) Boswell II, 66.  
 (115) Boswell III, 408. (116) Boswell II, 359. (117) Fitzgerald, 200-18.  
 Boswell IV, 320. (118) Boswell III, 263-4., IV, 242. (119) Boswell II, 409.  
 (120) Boswell II, 14. (121) Boswell II, 350, IV, 107.  
 (122) Boswell I, 161-185. (123) Boswell I, 234-41. (124) Boswell I, 464-72  
 (125) Boswell IV, 99. (126) Boswell I, 390-99. (127) Murphy, 16-25, 71.  
 (128) Murphy, 121. (129) Murphy, 79-80. (130) Murphy, 123.  
 (131) Quarterly, 142, 1.



Chapter III.  
The Circle Widens.

Scott's Life of Dryden - technique; characterisation; Dryden, the man of letters. Life of Swift - material; use of notes; Scott, and Swift's character. Lives of the Novelists - scope, and characteristics. Scott's Life of Napoleon - material, and handling of character. Hazlitt's and Lockhart's Lives of Napoleon. Southey's biographical contribution - Life of Nelson, and Life of Wesley.

Till the end of the 18th century, the lives of great men had been mainly of two kinds. There was the short narrative, to which was appended the set "character", or a critical section, when the life was written by one who did not know intimately the subject of the biography. Secondly, there was the long life written by a close friend. For the 19th century there remained the task of employing the biographical material and method of Boswell to give a full study of one not personally known, and to reveal him against the background of his time. It had still to show that the art of biography can be employed without first-hand knowledge. The other task of the 19th century was to widen the scope of biography, men of letters having been so far the commonest subjects.

While the fame of Sir Walter Scott does not popularly rest upon his biographies, his contribution was a substantial one, the Life of Dryden, Life of Swift, Lives of the Novelists, and the Life of Napoleon Buonaparte. In the first of these, Scott worked on the foundation laid by previous biographers of the poet, assisted by writers contemporary with the subject of the life. Wood, Shadwell, and the Life by Southerne supplied information. To Mr. Octavius Gilchrist he owed the tradition that Dryden's Walk in Huntingdon was so called because there he used to compose the Hind and the Panther, (1) and Congreve's character of the poet was incorporated in the Life. (2) Malone, however, was his chief source, from the details of Dryden's University career, through his dramatic activities, to the final view of his way of living, during the period when

he was such a familiar figure at Wills' Coffee House.(3) It is to be noted, nevertheless, that Scott does not uncritically accept the information thus to his hand. To take but one example - the tale of Dryden's having softened, in the second edition of Absalom and Achitophel, the portrait of Shaftesbury because he had secured for the poet's son admission to Charterhouse, was refuted in that the house foundation was proved to have been given to Erasmus Dryden on the recommendation of the King.(4) To this material, Scott was able to add that from Dryden's contemporaries in the possession of Mr. Narcissus Luttrell.

It is the handling of the material, however, rather than its fulness which distinguishes Scott's Life of Dryden, and of this he wrote, "It is the object of this memoir to connect with the account of Dryden's life and publications, such a general view of the literature of the time, as may enable the reader to estimate how far the age was indebted to the poet, and how far the poet was influenced by the taste and manners of the age."(5) With this end in view, he lets us see Dryden as part of the literary and political development of his time. The state of public taste is described as a background for Annus Mirabilis; as an introduction to Dryden's dramatic work, he gives a summary of the state of the drama from the time of James I to Charles II, analysing the special appeal of the heroic play; Absalom and Achitophel is accompanied by a sketch of the intensity of political feeling;(6) while Dryden's work is linked at other times with the current relations of bookseller and author, the general licentiousness of the stage, and the tone of contemporary criticism. This Scott was able to do, out of his wide and curious reading of the period, and his process of selection can be gauged from the material put by him in the footnotes, another feature of the book. These footnotes include an account of the feud between Dryden and Settle, various attacks on the poet, and extracts from books, such as Cibber's Apology, throwing light on the period.(7)

Another interesting feature is Scott's treatment of Dryden's literary career. Though he discusses the individual works as he comes to

them, the detailed analysis is reserved for the volumes in which the various plays, poems, or prose works appear. Though they are grouped according to form and subject, Scott never separates them from the circumstances in which they were written, linking them with one another, with the people who inspired them, or reacted to them, and with Dryden's private life generally. Thus the Essay of Dramatic Poesy is connected with those who were Dryden's friends, with the taste of the age, with the reply by Sir Robert Howard in the preface to the Duke of Lerma, and with Dryden's Defence of the Essay on Dramatic Poesy.(8)

For Dryden's character, despite the use of Congreve's "character," he depends mainly on the cumulative effect, detail by detail building up the personality. The man who could, in the poem on the Death of Cromwell, spare the errors and misfortunes of the royal family, could, without shame, overlook in his royal poems his former praise of the Protector.(9) Again, in his reference to the Fables, where is discussed Dryden's admission of the justice of Collier's attack, Scott deals with the question of Dryden's supposed habit of ridiculing the clergy.(10) While Scott makes no attempt to gloss over Dryden's weaknesses, his defence of the poet against his critics is eminently fair. Besides their value in tracing his career, letters, prefaces, dedications, and anecdotes sometimes reveal to the reader Dryden's character. Such, for example, are the letters to Tonson in 1698 over his exertions to bring home his son Charles, after the accident at Rome, "If it please God, that I must die of over-study, I cannot spend my life better than in preserving his,"(11) and to his cousin Mrs. Steward in 1699, when speaking of court favour, and his determination to maintain the Catholic faith, "for I can never go an inch beyond my conscience and my honour;" there are things he will do, "but I can neither take the oaths, nor forsake my religion; because I know not what church to go to, if I leave the Catholic."(12)

One last feature of this Life remains- that Scott gives us Dryden as the man of letters. Throughout the Life, he interweaves extracts from the poet's own work, to point a remark, to illustrate



the poet's attitude, to add to an outline given by himself. His most interesting use, however, is that made of Dryden's work in the defence for his change to Catholicism. He admits that the doubt of Dryden's integrity arose from the coincidence of his conversion with his worldly profit, but stresses the fact that he remained in the Catholic Church when it involved loss. The chief element in the defence is that the line of development in Religio Laici, carried to its logical conclusion, would lead to Catholicism, in which Dryden would find a refuge from his doubts and uncertainties.(13) The sympathetic treatment of Dryden can be explained by a certain kinship between the poet and his biographer, and in what Scott wrote of Dryden's labours, one may read a partial confession of his own, "It is difficult for a woman of a violent temper and weak intellects, and such the lady seems to have been, to endure the apparently causeless fluctuation of spirits incident to one doomed to labour incessantly in the feverish exercise of the imagination.....The wife of one who is to gain his livelihood by poetry, or by any labour (if any there be) equally exhausting, must either have taste enough to relish her husband's performances, or good-nature sufficient to pardon his infirmities."(14)

Scott's next venture in the field of biography, the Life of Swift, 1814, reveals the same features as those already discussed in the Life of Dryden. Material from those who have gone before him - the Life by Delany, information from Sheridan, Deane Swift, the son of the uncle Godwin Swift, who brought up Dean Swift, and Lord Orrery who knew him personally - forms the basis of the biography. It is supplemented by communications from others, particularly information from the research of Matthew Weld Hartstonge, later to become one of Scott's most regular correspondents,(15) and letters supplied by the Rev. Mr. Berwick, whose chief contribution was the correspondence between Swift and Miss Vanbrugh.(16) Indeed, this Life shows an increasing tendency towards documentation. For Swift's way of living and his generosity, Scott uses his account-books, during the year 1701-1702 at Laracor, while his accounts as Dean to 1742 are used as

evidence of his care for the revenues of the Cathedral.(17) For a number of interesting anecdotes, and for the picture given of the last days of Miss Hester Johnson, the Stella of the Journal, and of Swift's own, Scott is indebted to Mrs. Whiteway, who was with Swift, and whose daughter Mrs. Theophilus Swift, proves the vehicle for their transmission to Scott, through her husband.(18)

Here even more than in the case of Dryden, however, Scott finds it necessary to examine and compare the information, and on several occasions it proves possible, from more accurate knowledge, to defend the character of Swift from the accusations of previous biographers. For example, he vindicates Swift from the imputation of bartering his principles to obtain from Walpole, during his 1726 visit, an English deanery, by showing that Walpole uniformly opposed it, because he feared Swift's proximity.(19) Still more extensively than before, Scott draws upon Swift's own work for the development of his narrative - one of his odes, Cadenus and Vanessa, Swift's letters, and the Journal to Stella, convinced as he was of its complete accuracy and sincerity.

The artistic unity of the Life is in part maintained, as before, by copious notes, and the inclusion in an appendix of such material as Swift's ancestry, a list of his tracts, and extra illustrative material including a list of the poems ascribed to Swift.(20) Amongst the notes, we can detect certain recurring types. There are the quotations from work by others, but throwing light on a point in Swift's career or character; there is extra information, such as a list of Swift's library, to show his taste in reading; there are extra quotations from the Journal to Stella, and from Swift's letters; there are anecdotes from other Lives of Swift, such as his jokes about the dirt and poverty of Scotland; and there is evidence to support a viewpoint which Scott has adopted about a disputed point in the Dean's character - such, for example, is his proof of the impossibility of Delany's inference that Swift's wretchedness after his marriage to Stella in 1716 could be due to discovery of consanguinity.(21)

When one considers how very different were the characters of the Dean of St. Patrick's and of his biographer, the "saeva indignatio" and the humanity which treated everybody "like a blood relation", it would seem that full understanding by Scott would be difficult, if not impossible. With three aspects of Swift's life, Scott, nevertheless, had special sympathy, and was able to touch upon fairly and kindly. First, there was <sup>his</sup> complicated love affairs with Miss Johnson and Miss Vanhomrigh; here Scott enables the reader to see the situation developing, and though he cannot withhold his censure, he blames with discrimination. (22) Secondly, he has the knowledge and understanding to discuss Swift's political work; a good account is given of the various political administrations, of the part played by Swift as Dean, and especially his championship of Ireland. Though Scott grasped the real situation, he could see how this had to be modified by Swift, and his case accommodated to his audience - he who was to write as Malachi Malagrowther, was at this time already able to sympathise with the author of Drapier's Letters. (23) Thirdly, he was able to appreciate Swift's attitude to literature as subordinate to active life, though providing scope for creative genius. In the case of Gulliver's Travels, Scott discusses the literary inspiration of the book, estimates it as a novel, and finds in the background of Swift's day the significance of Lilliput, and of Laputa, but as far as Swift himself was concerned, the tracts on public matters were perhaps more important; this is Scott's justification for such a comprehensive treatment of works which are, to many readers, only names. (24)

Between the years 1821 and 1824, there appeared as prefaces to the Novelists' Library, what were to be known as Scott's Lives of the Novelists. The scope was limited in part by the plan of the work, for, in the Life of Horace Walpole, he says it is foreign to the plan to say much of the individual character, (25) and in some cases, such as Richardson and Le Sage, he deals with people of undistinguished lives. One consequence of the fact that these were originally prefaces. is the preponderance of literary criticism, generally of



two kinds - the criticism of individual works, such as Peregrine (26) Pickle, Le Diable Boiteux, Gil Blas, or Clarissa, and the special qualities, for example, of Sterne, and Mrs. Radcliffe, as novelists. (27) In addition, however, are those interesting reflections and discussions upon the novelist's art, by one practising, as well as thinking about it. Of this kind are the discussions of Fielding's failure as a dramatist, followed by one on the art of the novel, the comparison of Fielding and of Smollett, the discussion in the Lives of Horace Walpole and Mrs. Ann Radcliffe of romantic fiction, and in the latter, the use of the supernatural. (28)

For the strictly biographical part of the lives, as Scott himself admits, he had to use that material readiest to hand without research. In some instances, such as Johnson with Boswell as his source, and Richardson with Mrs. Barbauld, he has only the task of selection and abridgment. (29) With Henry Mackenzie, the "venerable and venerated," he comes to a literary figure of whom he has personal knowledge. (30) When this is considered, one wonders at the very small number of details which further knowledge has proved Scott to have mistaken. Only in the Life of Goldsmith are there serious errors, such as the attribution of Cooke's reminiscences, appearing in the European Magazine for 1793, to Lee Lewes, and the suggestion that the publication of Retaliation, actually a posthumous poem, affected the position of Goldsmith in the Johnson-Garrick circle. (31)

As regards technique, we find him, as in the Dryden and Swift, relating the person's work to his life; Smollett's life, and those with whom he came in contact are traced in his novels, and Goldsmith's work is also linked with his life. (32) Partly because of the scale of the book, quotations are rare, and when Mrs. Radcliffe's The Italian is quoted, it is for the sake of her art, not for her personality. (33)

Though Scott had, in some instances, to be content with material including quotation, from the work of previous biographers, he was better pleased with a contemporary picture, even a partial one, than with a fuller one of a later date. His favourite material is

the author's own account of himself, and his work, particularly letters. Amongst others, this kind of material is employed in the Lives of Fielding, Smollett, Cumberland, and Bage.(34) Although these are essentially literary lives, Scott does not regard as unimportant the personal character of the author, and, where he can, as with Sterne and Goldsmith, he includes details of appearance.(35)

When he is called upon, as was inevitable, to judge or even condemn, sanity, and wide charity, and a complete absence of literary vanity mark his work. The discussion of Charles Johnstone's dislike of Methodists produces a vindication of the character of Whitefield; Walpole is exonerated from responsibility for the death of Chatterton(36) and it would be difficult to write more justly of Johnson's neglect of the ordinary courtesies of life, "It is not likely that any one will again enjoy, or have an opportunity of abusing, the singular degree of submission which was rendered to Johnson by all around him. The unreserved communication of friends, rather than the spleen of enemies, have occasioned his character being exposed in all its shadows, as well as its lights. But those, when summed and counted, amount only to a few narrow-minded prejudices concerning country and party, from which few ardent tempers remain entirely free, and some violences and solecisms in manners, which left his talents, morals, and benevolence, alike unimpeachable."(38)

With the Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, we come to the work which involved its author in the heaviest labour of his life, a labour which surrounded him, as Basil Hall has recorded, with masses of books,(38) in his Edinburgh lodgings, which caused the now lonely author to work, as R. P. Gillies tells us in his Memoirs of a Literary Veteran, from ten to twelve hours, instead of the three of his prime,(39) and which for the toil, day after day, month after month, over mountains of material, can be compared only with Carlyle's Frederick the Great, and with Masson's Life of Milton.

Works like Lord Rosebery's The Last Phase reveal that there was not available to him all the necessary information. Since Scott's time, have come to light French government records which provide the

private memoirs necessary for the truth. The valuable suppressed correspondence of Napoleon, now accessible, was denied to Scott. In addition, to the memoirs of those on the island must now be added Lady Malcolm's Diary of St. Helena, which turns the balance against Sir Hudson Lowe. Finally, Scott placed on the evidence of Napoleon's companions on St. Helena a reliance now proved false, for Antommarchi, and O'Meara have both been discovered as untrustworthy, and Las Cases' book is described by Rosebery as "an arsenal of spurious documents." (40) Scott, however, used all that he could, and from this tremendous storehouse of material it is possible to pick out certain types which he employed. From the introductory volumes to the end, there is almost continuous use of the work of historians and journal-writers of the period. The two newspapers written on either side of the Channel - the Annual Register, and the Moniteur, are useful for the details of such things as official documents. Parliamentary Debates, too, he finds useful for events affecting both countries. In addition, Scott employs at various points in his narrative, books dealing with a special subject. Lastly, there are the letters, memoirs, and other material supplied by Napoleon himself, or by those who knew him intimately at a particular time in his life. These include Napoleon's Memoirs, those of his police chiefs, Savary and Fouché, and of Gourgand, the Army Bulletins, and Napoleon's speeches to his troops (though Scott has in this case to discount certain things, because of the obvious purpose of misleading by misrepresenting the facts), his letters, and the evidence of those who knew him during the period on St. Helena. Here, again, however, Scott uses reserve as he realises it is partisan material.

In his handling of this material, we notice that Scott, unlike Hazlitt, who incorporates it in the body of the biography, gives a preliminary survey of the French Revolution, as necessary to an understanding of Napoleon. In his introduction, he does not set out to trace the events minutely, but to give the spirit and tendency of the movement. Even this part of the work, however, already shows the qualities which characterise the biography proper. His grasp of



a situation, his narrative gift, his power of dramatic effect, his skill in characterisation, and his fairness all appear. Throughout, two feelings colour Scott's introduction. There is his horror at the atrocities committed in the name of the Revolution and pity for its unfortunate victims, even for the deluded French people. "Ill-fated" and "unfortunate" are the epithets most frequently employed to describe the King, the members of the royal family, and the suspect persons liable to the violence of the Revolutionary Tribunal. At the same time, he sees the tragedy and shame of unguided humanity, and as a temporary insanity, he sees the ferocity of a people generally so civilised, kindly, gay, and good-humoured.(41)

From the survey, he moves naturally to the central figure of the book. The Jacobins have fallen, and the question has arisen who will succeed them. "These were reflections which occupied almost all bosoms. But the hand of Fate was on the curtain, and about to bring the scene to light." (42) Thus is introduced Napoleon of whom Scott had written in the advertisement, that he had brought to the subject as impartial justice as his judgment could supply.(43) "The term of hostility is ended when the battle has been won, and the foe exists no longer." This biography some Scott enthusiasts would condemn, but in the Life we are conscious that the qualities which make it attractive are the qualities of the novelist. The narrative gift of the author appears in the detailed section dealing with Napoleon's Italian campaign,(44) but it appears also in the swift story of battles such as Jena, and in the advance to, and retreat from Moscow.(45) His clarity appears equally in the part dealing with Abbe Sieyes' plan adopted in consular government,(46) and in the details of battles and treaties. Throughout the book, too, is a succession of character-studies, of varying length, of the various people who play their part in the life of Napoleon, Talleyrand, Fouché, and Arthur Wellesley, to name only three of them.(47) With such a tremendous field, the chief difficulties were to link Napoleon with the events in other parts of Europe, and to keep him in the forefront, by a proper subordination of the parts. While

the naval battle of Aboukir is slurred over, (48) from Mondovi he lets us see the vital part played by Napoleon to the surrender of Mantua in 1797, writing after it, "The eyes of all Europe were now rivetted on Napoleon Buonaparte." (49) One example of how Scott overcame his difficulties is to be found in Volume VI, where, by his return again and again to Napoleon, he links him with the Spanish war, with the Portuguese conflict, with Austrian events, with affairs in the Tyrol, with England, and with the Papacy. Another is in Volume VII, where he connects Napoleon with Spain, Russia, Mallet's conspiracy, and the Allies, then he shows how Napoleon in turn influenced the events.

Since Napoleon is clearly the central figure, and the book is really a biography, not a history calling itself a Life, it is necessary to examine Scott's presentation of Napoleon. There is, on the one hand, Napoleon's public career, military and administrative, and on the other, his private life and character as a man. In his account of Napoleon the soldier, Scott could not withhold his admiration for Napoleon's military genius, both in a campaign, and in an individual battle, for his energy and concentration, and the wonderful use he made of the material to his hand. From Scott, who, in 1808, had written of him as "this tyrannical monster whom God has sent on the nations visited by his anger," and who wished that he might be shot "with a silver bullet, or drowned in the torrents of blood he delights to shed," (50) it is wonderful self-restraint to find only the recognition, in looking back over Napoleon's intended invasion of Britain, of his inability to understand another element from that in which he normally waged war. (51) On the other hand, he feels it necessary to allow for Napoleon's motive in distorting the truth; Napoleon's supposed instructions to Brueyes to leave Egypt are set in the scale against the probabilities of the case, and against the positive evidence of Vice-Admiral Gantheaume. (52) Certain test-cases, however, show Scott's desire to do justice to this once great adversary. One of these is the story of the slaughter of the surrendered Turks at Jaffa

during the campaign in Palestine, where Scott from the admissions of Napoleon to Ebrington and O'Meara is forced to believe in an element of truth, (53) but from his weighing of evidence he feels compelled to exonerate Napoleon from the charge at this time of poisoning his own sick soldiers. (54) As a result of examining the available material, Scott condemns what always aroused his righteous indignation, the perfidy and cruelty of Napoleon's treatment of Toussaint L'Ouverture of St. Domingo. (55) Even, however, where he must condemn most whole-heartedly the judicial murder, if it could be so called, of the Duke d'Enghien, writing of it, "No act had ever excited more universal horror both in France and in foreign countries, and none has left so deep a stain on the memory of Napoleon," Scott goes on with these words, "There is but justice, however, in listening to the defence which Buonaparte set up for himself when in Saint Helena." (56)

Having then, as his aim, the purpose of revealing Napoleon's character, Scott fulfils it by a variety of devices. He will give us anecdotes of Napoleon at school, rejecting those not in character, or not sufficiently vouched; he will give us a picture of the young lieutenant; he will occasionally let us hear him addressing his troops, though he does not, like Hazlitt, print frequently Napoleon's speeches; he will print one of Napoleon's more characteristic letters; he will let us see the general's character in action; he will show us his character developing by his growing dignity to his soldiers; he will give us some conception of the height of Napoleon's power. (57) Napoleon's character is revealed in his relationships with others, including the members of his family. But, though the character of Napoleon is more fully analysed as the book advances, there is also brought out his development, the growing ambition, the failure to acknowledge the truth, and the growing despotism, which brought about, on the one side, the divorce of the Empress Josephine, and on the other, the sufferings of the Russian campaign. (58) The character, thus built up, and developed for the reader is shown finally before the collapse, in the tranquillity in the midst of distress, and in the power of mind, with which he met events before the Battle of Leipsic. (59)



In the period of St. Helena, after as scrupulous a sifting of evidence as was possible, with his exoneration of Sir Hudson Lowe, Scott leaves us with a picture of this man, consistent to the last, his love of recognition creating difficulties for himself, and his proud and ambitious spirit fretted by the last act of the drama. The Life of Napoleon does indeed close like a tragedy, as the reader sees how the great achievements, the military gifts, the administrative genius, and the personal charm combined with circumstances to bring about the exile's death. Only this feeling remains when Scott concludes with these words; "it is scarcely within the capacity of those whose steps have never led them beyond the middle path of life, to estimate either the strength of the temptations to which he yielded, or the force of mind which he opposed to those which he was able to resist." (61)

With Scott's Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, there began the fashion for writing not only the lives of literary men, long dead, or unable to stir to intense feeling those still alive, but also the lives of those whose destiny had influenced that of nations. Scott's biography of Napoleon was succeeded by that of Hazlitt, and, when, in 1829, Lockhart was to contribute a volume to the Family Library, Murray's venture corresponding to Constable's Miscellany, he did what was, in the main, an abridgement of Scott's, his History of Napoleon Buonaparte.

Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon has, as its chief merit, when this is called for, a swift-moving narrative. The accounts of the Battle of Austerlitz, the advance into Russia with the Battle of Moskwa, and the vivid section on the burning of Moscow, and the retreat from the city bring out his gift. (62) The ability to supply a rapid narrative is displayed also in the march to Paris on Napoleon's escape from Elba, reaching dramatic intensity at the meeting beyond Grenoble with the first soldiers, a meeting which brings out something of Napoleon's greatness. (63) Hazlitt can also describe effectively an incident with Napoleon as the centre, in what he calls, "The Eighteenth of Brumaire," the point in his career when Napoleon, staking all,

rid the country of the Directory.

These things having been said, it must now be pointed out how much Hazlitt does which prevents his work from being a pure biography. There is first of all, his tendency to digress. After he has traced the career of Napoleon to the siege of Toulon, he brings in the connection with Paoli, and this at once leads to an account of Corsica with its history;(65) this is followed by the narrative of the Revolution, the struggles of the Sections of the National Convention, and the events in La Vendee.(66) Thus, in the first volume, from P.46 to P.351 there are only two passing references to Napoleon. While in none of the other volumes is the tendency so marked, Volume III lets us see the material about Spain escaping Hazlitt's control, and the Campaign of 1809 gives scope for a digression on the Tyrolese.(67) A second cause of the distraction of the reader's attention from the figure of Napoleon is the writer's habit of expressing his own point of view. The Revolution is itself a peg for Hazlitt's enthusiasm for liberty, and on other occasions he breaks out into a passionate defence of the slave peoples, or it may be of attack upon those in his own country whom he regarded as the enemies of freedom. It is rather curious to see the way in which Hazlitt lays at the door of the British Government and general public the charge of breaking the Peace of Amiens,(68) yet, as his wont, despises the French temperament and character, which caused Napoleon so much difficulty in his proposed invasion of Britain. Indeed, the French national character, the Roman Catholic Church, and the characteristics of Prussia and of Russia are disliked as much as Napoleon is admired.

The truth is that Napoleon was to Hazlitt a symbol even more than an individual person; in his defeat at Leipsic Hazlitt saw the re-establishment of his hated hereditary government and to him the Battle of Waterloo was "the triumph of the despot and the slave throughout the world."(69) His real point of view he expresses thus in the beginning of the third volume, "It is true, I admired the man; but what chiefly attached me to him, was his being, as he had been long

ago designated, 'the child and champion of the Revolution.' Of this character he could not divest himself even though he wished it. He was nothing, he could be nothing but what he owed to himself and to his triumphs over those who claimed mankind as their inheritance by a divine right; and as long as he was a 'thorn in the side of kings' and kept them at bay, his cause rose out of the ruins and defeat of their pride and hopes of revenge." (70) It is this point of view which forces Hazlitt to defend Napoleon's action in the seizure and condemnation of the Duke d'Enghien, and it is this partisanship which makes him see in Napoleon, as he escapes from Elba, the champion of the people against the duplicity and violence of the Allies, who would re-establish the Bourbon slavery in France. (71) Above all, this adds bitterness to his attack on Sir Hudson Lowe, for his treatment of Napoleon during his last years in St. Helena. (72)

One more question arises in connection with this biography - whether Hazlitt does in any degree make Napoleon a real, individual person. That he has not fulfilled his promise of letting us see the thoughts arising in Napoleon's mind and his projects growing to maturity is obvious. The addresses to the soldiers at Nice in 1796, and throughout his career are of a public nature, telling of past achievements, suggesting confidence for the future, and urging to activity - on these Hazlitt draws freely. Of a similar impersonal character are the Lists of Notability, the Legion of Honour, the Concordat schools, and the Colonies. (73) Even the conversations recorded by Las Casas, as Hazlitt writes it, one of the people allowed to accompany Napoleon to exile, are less conversations than addresses, By scattered anecdotes, by pictures of Napoleon at various times in his life - in Paris, with his soldiers, as a considerate commander, and above all, in the days before his abdication - and by his use of the material for the period of St. Helena, (74) Hazlitt, nevertheless, has succeeded in giving life to the character. By his own strong feeling he communicates to the reader his admiration for Napoleon's magnanimity, his energy, his self-control, and his love of France. Biased the work undoubtedly is, but there are those who have, for this



very reason, found in it a life which they miss in Scott's fairer, more reasoned, and more artistic biography.

Written on a much smaller scale than either of the other Lives of Napoleon already discussed, Lockhart's biography rigidly selects the material dealing with the life of its subject. Unlike Scott and Hazlitt, Lockhart passes over in a paragraph the events of the French Revolution, bringing us early to the Siege of Toulon with Napoleon's part in it.(75) Similarly, he subordinates the constitutional struggle of 1795, and in 1812 reminds us of the secondary importance of the details of the Spanish Campaign.(76) As has been remarked, much of the material is a condensation of Scott's military narrative, including the accounts of the Battles of Monte Notte, and Pavia, and right up to the Russian Campaign, including the Battle of Borodino, and continuing to Waterloo itself. This is partly due to the fact that, as he says of the campaign against Charles in 1797, the narrative has already been told five times.(77) The process of condensation, however, also extends to material which might throw more light on Napoleon's character. His curious relationships with Mahometanism when in Egypt, the details of his divorce from the Empress Josephine, and his entry into Moscow, from which is omitted the mention of the removal of the Kremlin Cross described by Scott and Hazlitt, are amongst the parts thus abridged.(78) On the other hand, while the complaints of Napoleon about St. Helena and the answers to those complaints are shortened, Lockhart includes an extract by a visitor, Mr. Henry Ellis, placed by Scott in the Appendix.(79)

Not only does Scott's Life provide the basis of the narrative, but Lockhart follows it in his transitions, and in such general discussions as that on Napoleon's life in Paris, after the Treaty of Campo-Formio.(80) Even the details are similar at times; for example, the quotation of verse to Murat, on hearing of Vandamme's defeat at Culm appears in both. The comments also resemble Scott's, for instance the remark about Moreau's death paying for any errors he had made. In Napoleon's greeting of Ney as "the bravest of the brave" when he escaped from the Russians, the very phrasing is used.(81)

With the reduction of the scale of the biography, the proportion of anecdotes, speeches, and remarks is necessarily greater in Lockhart's Life. Many of these will naturally appear in the work of both Hazlitt and Scott, and some in Scott's alone. All three give the anecdote of Napoleon's reply to the fat woman who complained of being starved; and all give the story of his generosity to General Wurmser shut up in Mantua.(82) From Scott he borrows the oft-quoted remark, "I cannot be everywhere," and he is the source of the story of Hinton, who, on the voyage to Elba, resisted Napoleon's blandishments with "humbug!"(83) There are, however, a few additions by Lockhart, among them being the story of Napoleon's kindness to the wearied sentry.(84) Besides the interesting addition of Wellington's ride to interview Blücher on the evening of 17th June, 1815, with the refutation of the idea that Wellington was surprised at the Duchess of Richmond's ball,(85) there is the letter of Napoleon from Rochefort, July 13th, 1815, which shows that nothing Maitland did influenced Napoleon's giving himself over to the English.(86) The most valuable addition is the extra light thrown on the murder of the Duke of Enghien.(87) Lockhart had followed Scott in blaming Napoleon for the murder of the prisoners at Jaffa, and had blamed him for the intention, though not the execution of the deed of poisoning his own wounded men; but in this instance, the narrative of General Hullin, published in consequence of a pamphlet by Savary, Duke of Rovigo, enables Lockhart to dismiss much more summarily than Scott was able to do Napoleon's contradictory explanations.(88)

Despite the nature of this biography, it has certain merits of its own. By personal detail, his private character is shown, and Napoleon's military skill, and administrative genius are clearly displayed. Perhaps by the process of abridgement, and the better proportion of the Spanish war, the reader is able to grasp more easily the outline of Napoleon's career, his flashing like a meteor, his growing power, and his control over events. Lockhart is able, too, to mark the various stages in his character, under the

influence of events, showing how his abilities, faults, and the times, brought about his downfall. He achieves consistency of character, and some of Scott's sense of drama. What is lacking, however, is the broad humanity. A characteristic touch of irony appears in Lockhart's comment on the restoration of King Ferdinand to the Spanish throne in January 1814, "Once more Napoleon was too late in doing good that evil might follow." (89) Though he ridicules the attacks of the English newspapers on Napoleon, he brings out the ironic contrast between Napoleon's claims about the freedom of the people in his speeches, and the comment provided by his actions. Only once, - and again this is characteristic - does Lockhart feel constrained to pity Napoleon. Although he knows the parting of Napoleon from the Empress and his son is theatrical, he cannot here withhold his sympathy. (90) Along with the comparative narrowness of the canvas, the absence of such human sympathy takes from Lockhart's workmanlike biography the final stamp of greatness.

During the period of Scott's biographical activity, Southey contributed to this species of literature two Lives which are still generally read, the Life of Nelson, 1813, and the Life of Wesley, 1820. In the first of these, narrative preponderates, some of Nelson's campaigns such as that against the Spanish Main, 1779-81, and some of the battles of his career, notably the Battle of the Nile, the Battle of the Baltic, and the Battle of Trafalgar, being described in detail. (91) Especially in these three battles, the narrative halts for a moment for the sake of description; in the burning of the Orient in the Battle of the Nile, and in the picture of Nelson aboard the Victory before Trafalgar, Southey is able to bring the scene vividly before our eyes. (92) He is also good at summing up a situation, understanding, for example, Nelson's difficulties over Genoa in 1795. (93)

To make Nelson the central figure, Southey traces minutely the career of his subject, and though occasionally, as in the North Pole expedition, or in Captain Ball's difficulties in Malta, in the



years 1798-9, the narrative fails to be subordinated to the figure of Nelson, the interest is maintained in his various commands, his naval skill under differing circumstances, and the recognition awarded to it. The free use of Nelson's letters and journals reveals his difficulties as they arise, his plans, and his comments on the various situations. They are supplemented by the communications of Nelson's friends, but the shortness of the biography serves to prevent Southey from involving himself in masses of material, and saves him from a constitutional tendency to being side-tracked.

The more personal and domestic side is not neglected, although less stressed than the official aspect of Nelson's career, and the reader is given glimpses of him amongst his men and naval colleagues, amongst his friends, and in contact with the various members of his family. By his letters, and an occasional anecdote, are revealed the essential qualities of Nelson's character. The courage of the great admiral is early evident in the child who, when asked if he had not been afraid, replied, "Fear! grandmamma, I never saw fear. What is it?"(94) These two types of material show his desire for activity, danger, and success; his independent and courageous judgment; his certainty in his own ultimate success; his anxiety for the recognition of his men, his occasional sense of ill-usage by the government, and his consideration for others. Though Southey refers to Nelson as "this admirable man", he does not attempt to make him into a modern national saint. In the Caraccioli affair, when Nelson overruled the treaty with the Neapolitan revolutionaries, Southey, without even sifting the evidence, has made up his mind to condemn.(95) Upon Nelson's relationship with Lady Hamilton he puts the responsibility for the affair, a censure repeated later over the separation from Lady Nelson.(96) For Nelson's intense dislike of the French, Southey has nothing but sympathy. His real weakness we feel is not in idealising Nelson, nor in the disposition of his material; it is rather that he does not explain the constant passing over of Nelson's greatness and his successes by the government, or reconcile this with their

eagerness to give him the Mediterranean command at the end. The element of success in the biography comes from its being written by a sympathetic admirer about a likable personality.

By giving the volumes their full title, The Life of Wesley, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism, we realise that this is not pure biography, however Southey may depict the leading figure. The second part of the title involves the tracing of other careers, and the outline of developments, even when not immediately directed by John Wesley. It involves a description of the work done by Charles Wesley, and Whitefield, including his early career before going to Oxford, the circumstances which developed the distinctive features of Methodism - class-leaders, itineracy, field-preaching, lay-preaching, - and the progress of Methodism in countries beyond England.(97) Subsidiary topics introduced for his purpose, such as the account of the Moravians, with the career of their leader Count Zinzendorf, make it difficult at times to keep the biographical element in its proper place.(98)

With such a wide field, Southey requires to document the book more thoroughly than the Life of Nelson. For Wesley, there are previous Lives of him, his letters, and other works. In addition, the histories of Methodism, and Lives, and other material about people famous in the movement, however unknown elsewhere, are used by him, and moulded for his purpose. With certain aspects of Methodism, Southey has only partial sympathy, and with others none at all. One is conscious of his preoccupation with the question of predestination, and of his opposition to the tendency to schism and bigotry. Writing of Dr.Coke, and the enthusiasm of the converts in the West Indies, Southey says, "It requires more charity and more discrimination than the majority of men possess, not to suspect either the sincerity or the sanity of persons who aim at producing effects like this by their ministry, or exult in them when they are produced."(99) These strange manifestations, which Southey explains as disease, and condemns as enthusiasm, occupy an undue proportion of the book, and are described more

frequently, and in more detail than one feels to be necessary for the light they shed on one feature of Methodism, and one peculiarity in its founder.(100)

Southey's view of Establishment affects his attitude to Calvinism, and his comprehension of Wesley's character. He cannot mention religious conversion without losing his temper, and his insensitiveness to music prevents him from appreciating the debt owed by the Nonconformists to Wesley's gift. Nevertheless, Southey attempts to give as fair a view of Wesley's character as his own permits. While blaming Wesley for the lack of judgment which allowed him to encourage the religious frenzy of his converts, he recognizes Wesley's own sincerity in religion, his abounding energy, the sweetness of his disposition, and his organizing genius. He recognizes, too, that Wesley, by his experience, outgrew his earlier excesses, and that the weaknesses of his character were the counterpart of those qualities which gave rise to his extraordinary success(101).

Apart from the combination of the life of Wesley, and the history of Methodism, there has so far been no mention of anything new in technique in this work of Southey. Nor is there anything new in the narrative of Wesley's career, diversified by characteristic anecdote, or even the picture of him with his irresistibly winning manners, and his cheerfulness, or in his old age, with his long white silver hair, and his growing sense of the urgency of time.(102) What is new, however, is the attempt to trace, by means of the material, the spiritual development of his subject. Southey for this reason dwells on the early influences at work, especially

Wesley's escape from death, the books he read, and his mother's religious and other influence on his training.(103) It is this which involves the extensive use of letters from Wesley's father and mother, his brothers, Samuel and Charles, and others with whom he came in contact. It is this, too, which causes the inclusion of the large extract from the Sermon on Free Grace, and the regular use of Wesley's Journal.(104) There we see his feelings about others, and



share his thoughts and religious experiences.

Thus, by these two ventures, Southey has extended the range of those who are regarded as fit subjects for biography, and increased the amount of knowledge which can be drawn from biographical material about the person whose Life is being written.

- (1) Scott Dryd., 22, 53, 456, 325. (2) Scott Dryd., 445-7.
- (3) Scott Dryd., 31, 193, 454. (4) Scott Dryd., 246. (5) Scott Dryd., 4.
- (6) Scott Dryd., 42-59, 118-31, 239-42. (7) Scott Dryd., 183-4, 251-2, 196-7, 107. (8) Scott Dryd., 91-100. (9) Scott Dryd., 37-42.
- (10) Scott Dryd., 426-9. (11) Scott Dryd., 412-3. (12) Scott Dryd., 321-2
- (13) Scott Dryd., 302-322. (14) Scott Dryd., 90-1. (15) Scott Swift, 8-12. (16) Scott Swift, ix. (17) Scott Swift, 61-2, 405. (18) Scott Swift, 355-8. (19) Scott Swift, 320-2.
- (20) Scott Swift, iii-ix, lviii-lxii, ciii-cxxviii.
- (21) Scott Swift, 353n, 40-2n, 262-6n, 126n, 157n, 359-60n, 239-40n.
- (22) Scott Swift, 226-262. (23) Scott Swift, 276-306.
- (24) Scott Swift 326-46, 363, 407, 428. (25) Scott Lives, 186.
- (26) Scott Lives, 40, 81-4, 89-93, 230-8. (27) Scott Lives, 128-32, 319-39.
- (28) Scott Lives, 4-8, 65-72, 190-2, 320, 327-9. (29) Scott Lives, 155-6, 206.
- (30-) Scott Lives, 167. (31) Scott Lives, 143. (32) Scott Lives, 138-9, 141-2. (33) Scott Lives, 310-3. (34) Scott Lives, 24-5, 49-50, 285-6, 260-5. (35) Scott Lives, 128, 150. (36) Scott Lives, 108-9, 187.
- (37) Scott Lives, 160-1. (38) Lockhart VI, 316. (39) Gillies Mem. III, 142
- (40) Rosebery, 1, 5-6, 8-35, 8. (41) Scott Nap., II, 279-95.
- (42) Scott Nap. II, 399. (43) Scott Nap. I, iv.
- (44) Scott Nap. III, 99-112, 115-137. (45) Scott Nap. V, 304-8, VII, 262-82, 355-65. (46) Scott Nap. IV, 204-14. (47) Scott Nap. IV, 231-3, VI, 225-8. (48) Scott Nap. IV, 77. (49) Scott Nap. III, 254.
- (50) Lockhart II, 225. (51) Scott Nap. V, 235-6. (52) Scott Nap. IV, 76-7
- (53) Scott Nap. IV, 94-6. (54) Scott Nap. IV, 112-7.
- (55) Scott Nap. V, 52-7. (56) Scott Nap. V, 115-6. (57) Scott Nap. 14-6, 17, III, 302, IV, 247-8, VI, 114. (58) Scott Nap. VII, 4-10, 417-25.
- (59) Scott Nap. VII, 568-72. (60) Scott Nap. IX, 158-221.

- (61) Scott Nap. IX, 304-38, 338. (62) Hazlitt III, 165-70, 421-67, 473-92, 499-515, 516-32. (63) Hazlitt IV, 277-82. (64) Hazlitt II, 281-301. (65) Hazlitt I, 46-75. (66) Hazlitt I, 78-351. (67) Hazlitt III, 259-304, 352-6. (68) Hazlitt II, 526, III, 38-58. (69) Hazlitt IV, 133, 356. (70) Hazlitt III, 1-2. (71) Hazlitt III, 87-109, IV, 293-7. (72) Hazlitt IV, 457-72. (73) Hazlitt I, 419, II, 365-407. (74) Hazlitt II, 125, IV, 226-51, 534-64. (75) Lockhart Nap. I, 10-1. (76) Lockhart Nap. I, 20-4, II, 108. (77) Lockhart Nap. I, 87. (78) Lockhart Nap. I, 127, Scott Nap. IV, 84-90; Lockhart Nap. II, 76-81, Scott Nap. VII, 1-18; Lockhart Nap. II, 133-41, Scott Nap. VII, 278-310, Hazlitt III, 494-515. (79) Lockhart Nap. II, 344-6, 348. (80) Lockhart Nap. I, 104-6, Scott Nap. IV, 34-8, Hazlitt II, 125-9. (81) Lockhart Nap. II, 191, Scott Nap. VII, 540; Lockhart Nap. II, 189, Scott Nap. VII, 529; Lockhart Nap. II, 156, Scott Nap. VII, 368. (82) Lockhart Nap. I, 26-7, Scott Nap. III, 79-80, Hazlitt I, 412; Lockhart Nap. I, 81, Scott Nap. III, 251, Hazlitt I, 533-4. (83) Lockhart Nap. I, 293, Scott Nap. V, 247; Lockhart Nap. II, 267, Scott Nap. VIII, 259. (84) Lockhart Nap. I, 79. (85) Lockhart Nap. II, 309. (86) Lockhart Nap. II, 331-2. (87) Lockhart Nap. II, 265-8. (88) Lockhart Nap. I, 132, 138-9, II, 262-5. (89) Lockhart Nap. II, 213. (90) Lockhart Nap. II, 216-7. (91) Southey Nel., 20-6, 144-60, 243-59, 327-49. (92) Southey Nel., 152, 332-3. (93) Southey Nel., 92-5. (94) Southey Nel., 5. (95) Southey Nel., 198-202. (96) Southey Nel., 196-198, 226. (97) Southey Wes., 29-37, 241-5, 390-427. (98) Southey Wes., 104-23. (99) Southey Wes., 539. (100) Southey Wes., 164-71. (101) Southey Wes., 556. (102) Southey Wes., 573-6.

## Chapter IV.

John Gibson Lockhart.

Early biographical interest - Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk; studies in Burns and Scott. Life of Burns. Theodore Hook. Life of Scott - material not included; material selected. Lockhart's Abridgement compared with 1837 Life. Lockhart's use of Scott's letters - selection and handling. Use of Scott's Journal. Blending of material. Character of Scott. Comparison with other biographies of Scott. Degree of Lockhart's accuracy and impartiality. Ability to portray Scott's character.

When we come to John Gibson Lockhart, we meet one who touched literature at many points - the novel, poetry, and criticism, but it is to biography that we find him most frequently turning, and his biographies form his most abiding contribution to literature. At one time he proposed a completely biographical issue of the Quarterly Review, and amongst others wrote, at various times, on the lives of Crabbe, Edmund Kean, Southey, (in part), Wilkie the painter, and Beattie's Life of Campbell. (1) In the main, he felt it his business chiefly to review the work of others, but in the article on Theodore Hook, 1843, to be published later as an independent essay, we have a model of the very short biography, just, as in the Life of Burns and in the Life of Scott we find him attempting those of average and voluminous size. His Life of Napoleon has already been discussed.

Before writing a biography proper, we find Lockhart touching on this art in his Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, 1819. This book has been the subject of much discussion, since Lockhart did not claim it exclusively as his; Wilson, his fellow-contributor to Blackwood, was supposed to do the part about Glasgow, but just how much of it was his is not known. Again, there is the question of whether or not there was a first edition; G. R. Gleig, in his Quarterly Review article on Lockhart, in 1864, claimed that there



was not, and it was assumed that the reference in the book to an earlier edition was part of the familiar mystification; but Mr.W.M. Parker, in the Times Literary Supplement June 22nd,1940, shows that other evidence contradicts that of Gleig.(2) Passing over these disputed points, we come to what is important for Lockhart as biographer. He is still in those letters, supposedly sent from Dr. Peter Morris, chiefly to the Rev. David Williams, Bishop of St.David's, dealing with subjects not primarily biographical. Some letters describe the places to which a visitor might go, and his first impressions of Edinburgh, Holyroodhouse, the shops of the various booksellers, Melrose Abbey, and Bothwell Castle.(3) In other places he gives, with a blending of satire and sympathy, pictures of typically Scottish occasions, such as the Country Sacrament.(4) At intervals, we are given the author's opinions on various topics, especially literary - his appreciation of Wordsworth, his views on the inferior classical scholarship of Edinburgh University, his indictment of the Edinburgh Review for its religious scepticism, its politics, and its literary views, and an interesting admission of fault for the satirical element in Blackwood's Magazine.(5) His ability to draw scenes, such as the spectacle on Glasgow Green,(6) may be of use to the future biographer, but more important is his interest in personal appearance and character.

As a craniologist, and critic of art, he is interested in the human face and head, witness his descriptions of Dr.Chalmers, and Mr.Leslie, and the portraits of Hume and Rousseau;(7) Still more is he interested in face and appearance as revealing personality. The contradictions of Scottish character, "the struggle that seems to be perpetually going on between the sarcastic and reverential elements of their disposition" - is a subject which appeals to him, and in the students seen on the benches in Edinburgh University, as in the various types of minister seen in the procession to St.Giles at the time of the General Assembly, he studies different types of character.(8) Every experience, too, is the occasion for a character-sketch of famous Scotsmen of the day, Jeffrey, Wilson, Constable,

Dr. McCrie, and his own professors at Glasgow, Young and Jardine, to name only a few.(9) Lockhart himself is described during a visit to Gillies at Roslyn.(10) In these portraits, not only is their outward appearance described, but also their distinguishing quality in their particular sphere.

Most interesting of all are the sections dealing with Burns and Scott, the subjects of his later work. His description of a Burns Supper leads him to defend the poet against the strictures of Jeffrey, and to appeal at least for understanding of the poet's difficult life. "It is an easy thing," he writes, "for those, who have comfortable homes, and congenial occupations, to rail against the dissipated habits of a poor wandering poet, compelled to waste his best days in degrading drudgeries, and night after night to find himself surrounded in his own narrow dwelling by all the depressing and contradictory squalors of penury."(11) It is not alone Christian charity which the writer extends to Burns, but the element in his own character which made him enjoy the hilarious suppers at Ambrose's gave him the necessary sympathy for the fine tribute to Burns's gifts as displayed in the Jolly Beggars.

More fully developed still is the part dealing with his visit to Abbotsford. We see Scott as the kindly host, the dinner party, and Scott's sudden kindling into a poet when he quotes a ballad. "His eyes seemed no longer to glance quick and grey from beneath his impending brows, but were fixed in their expanded eye-lids with a sober solemn lustre. His mouth (the muscles about which are at all times wonderfully expressive,) instead of its usual language of mirth or benevolence, or shrewdness, was filled with a sad and pensive earnestness. The whole face was tinged with a glow that shewed its lines in new energy and transparence, and the thin hair parting backward, displayed in tenfold majesty his Shakespearian pile of forehead."(12) Then the piper arrives, reminding the visitor of Roderick Dhu and Fergus MacIvor; Scott's conversation is contrasted with that of Wordsworth, and his special power of revivifying the past is stressed.(13) Other parts

described are the breakfast next day , a visit to the library, Scott's build and skill in horsemanship, a ride with Scott, and his recollections of childhood, with a final summing up of Scott's special contribution to Scottish literature.(14) Had Lockhart then known the authorship of the Waverley novels, he might have applied to them what he wrote of Scott's power in conversation to illumine and bring to life whatever he spoke of - "these are all alike, not names, but realities - living, moving, breathing, feeling, speaking, looking realities - when he speaks of them. The grave loses half its potency when he calls. His own imagination is one majestic sepulchre, where the wizard lamp burns in never-dying splendour, and the charmed blood glows for ever in the cheeks of the embalmed, and every long-sheathed sword is ready to leap from its scabbard, like the Tizona of the Cid in the vault of Cardena."(15)

In the Life of Robert Burns, 18281, Lockhart, as he tells us himself, does not set out to supersede the biographical work done by Currie and Walker, and supplemented by Gilbert Burns; nor does he seek to displace the literary criticism of Heron, Currie, Scott, and others; his purpose is to compress the material within reasonable limits and to supply a fuller account of the later part of Burns's life.(16)

In one point of technique, the use of footnotes, he follows Scott's practice, employing them to supply additional facts, to rectify an opinion held by Burns or others, for example his father's supposed dislike of the dancing-school, to give his source for material embodied in the Life, to quote illustrative material from Burns's own pen, (The preface to the Kilmarnock edition is one example, and extracts from his journal on the tour of the Highlands another), to vindicate Burns's character by a comparison of anecdotes about him, and to defend Thomson from the charge of meanness for his failure to remunerate Burns for his contribution of poems.(17)

From the point of view of material, with the exception of 1783 when an extract from a memorandum book is used, the largest



part is from Burns's letters. From these, we have a picture of him at the various places of his residence, particularly Edinburgh, and Elliesland.(18) While the letters describe his various activities, they are also used to show Burns's varying moods. Of his Tarbolton period, he writes about "a strong appetite for sociability, as well from native hilarity, as from a pride of observation and remark," but also of "a constitutional melancholy or hypochondriacism that made me fly solitude."(19) His Edinburgh letters, along with the sections from his Diary, throw light on Burns's feelings at his reception.(20) In speaking of the Dumfries letters, Lockhart points out that Burns accommodated his tone to the recipients of his correspondence, those to Mrs.Dunlop, Dr.Moore, and his brother Gilbert being full of noble feeling and warm affection. They continue to his moving epistles written from Brow in July 1796 before his death.(21)

Supplementing the correspondence of Burns are extracts from the letters of Gilbert Burns, especially valuable for the early period of the poet's life, and some material printed by Currie, though much of the journal written during the Border tour he excludes as trivial, selecting only what he thinks especially characteristic. To the material provided by other writers Lockhart adds most for the later years. From letters of Mr.Train, supervisor at Castle Douglas, and the Rev. James Gray, a personal friend at Dumfries, he is able to clear Burns's character as an exciseman, to show his real political sympathies, his conduct of affairs, his prospects of promotion, and to depict him as an affectionate parent and a man with a natural reverence for religion.(22)

In the biography, despite the slip where in 1787 he speaks of a return to Mauchline in July yet refers later to a letter written on 18th June,(23) there is an obvious effort to obtain accuracy of fact; but the main purpose is to give as true a picture of the mind and character of the poet as possible. This he does partly by the use of his various sources, linking them with narrative and bringing into relief elements which he thinks

important. It is also done by discussion of, and quotation from, the works, not only for their value as literature, but in relation to Burns's personality; for example, during the Mossgiel period the letters are quoted, the love affairs are described, and extracts from the lyrics are interwoven.(24) Sometimes at a suitable point, Lockhart, with the understanding of Scottish life and character already observed, discusses the attitude of Burns to various topics.

After a picture of the religious condition of his region and time, Lockhart links it with the attitude of Burns in Holy Fair and other poems dealing with religious topics; here he claims that even those who most regretted the viewpoint recognized "that the Muse of Christ's Kirk on the Green had awakened, after the slumber of ages, with all the vigour of her regal youth about her, in 'the auld clay biggin' of Mossgiel.'"(25) Again, his knowledge of Edinburgh society enables him to discuss the effect it had on Burns (26). Finally, he discusses the effect of the French Revolution on young men of the day, and how far Burns was affected by it, using as the ultimate evidence his own letters.(27)

In addition, Lockhart realises that, without moralising, the biographer must pass judgment on the facts before him; in other words, if it is to be a work of art, the Life must be written from a clearly held point of view. For a Scot writing about Burns, this was particularly difficult, but Lockhart's fairness throughout is a feature of the book. With sympathy, he realises the difficulties of Burns in the Edinburgh period, and in settling down after his visit, at Mossgiel.(28) The whole episode of Jean Armour is treated with delicacy, and after weighing all the evidence Lockhart concludes that the marriage was an act of honour and not of compulsion.(29) When writing of Burns's period as exciseman, without hiding or minimising the faults, he realises the peculiar temptations of such a life to a person like Burns. While admitting the degeneration of the poet in the last years at Dumfries, he refuses to sanction the character of unrelieved blackness, imputed by Currie, using, as has been said, the evidence of the Rev. James

Gray.(30) The extenuation, if not the defence, is to be found in Lockhart's view of the character of the poet- that the sensibility of constitution which made his vices , also made his virtues and his genius; without it, "the world would never have heard anything either of the sins, or the sorrows, or the poetry of Burns! "(31)

The Life of Burns was followed by the History of Napoleon Buonaparte, then came the Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott before the biographical article on Theodore Hook, but by discussing next this article, we shall have the advantage of leaving to the end Lockhart's greatest contribution to biographical art. Appearing in Vol.72, No.143 of the Quarterly Review in 1843, as a review of "Peregrine Bounce by the Author of Sayings and Doings etc.etc. 3Vols.London 1842.", was a short biography of Theodore Hook. In the side of Lockhart's character which drew him to Wilson and Hogg in their hilarious witticisms, there was a certain sympathy with Hook, but, in addition, he recognized Hook's great gifts both in literature and in society. To literature he felt had been contributed most interesting studies of middle-class society.(32) The author of these novels he knew as one respecting rank, but never servile, as one whose conversational powers were above his writings, which lacked "the commentary of that bright eye - the deep gurgling glee of his voice - the electrical felicity of his pantomime."(33)

Within the short compass, Lockhart is able to build up the career and character of his friend. The early circumstances of Hook's life he draws, in part, from his literary work, tracing the effects on his career and character of such an upbringing. Claiming that the real farce was Hook's own life, he describes some of his most famous hoaxes. including the Berners Street Hoax of 1809, and describing the frolic with Coleridge at Highgate.(34) From the Memoirs of Mrs. Mathews, the diary of Hook and his novels, amongst other material, the remainder of Hook's career is traced, and a convincing picture drawn of his tastes, views, and way of living.(35)

One of the sections of Theodore Hook's life with which Lockhart has to deal is the part played by his subject in the



campaign against the Queen and her supporters. A Lockhart, older and wiser than in the days of his Blackwood exploits, regrets Hook's having descended to defamation, but against this is set the absence of malice of a personal kind; it may be that a recollection of his own earlier faults produced this excuse, "Certain men and women were stuck up as types of certain prejudices or delusions; and he set to knocking them down with no more feeling about them, as individual human creatures, than if they had been nine-pins. In all this there was a culpable recklessness - a sad want of thought; but, at the same time, want of reflection is not exactly to be confounded with deliberation of malice." (36) Another part of Hook's life which required discussion was the mistake in the Treasurer's report, pointed out by William Allen to the new Lieutenant Governor of Mauritius, a mistake which brought about Hook's ejection, and procedure against him in England. By examining the Auditor's Report, Lockhart is able to show that, if there was inaccuracy, it told against Hook, as well as being at times to his financial benefit, that others had access to the treasure-boxes, and that the punishment inflicted on him by the government was for no more than negligence, there being no intention to defraud. (37) Throughout the study, we are conscious of Lockhart's admission of faults and errors, in the man of whose final ability and charm we are fully aware by the time the Life is complete. We feel that Lockhart's claim to have given a perfectly honest picture is justified, and admit the validity of his remark, "We are not afraid that any of his real friends will suspect us of regarding his memory without tenderness, because we have discharged our duty by telling what we believed to be the truth." (38)

Certainly never before in the history of literature did anyone begin a biography with a greater mass of personal material than was at the disposal of John Gibson Lockhart, when he undertook the Life of his father-in-law. Letters written by Scott, which have swelled, with the addition of a comparatively small number not evidently known to Lockhart, to the twelve volume Centenary

Edition; letters to Scott, the twenty-three volumes, amounting to six thousand letters of the Abbotsford Letter-Books, from which (39) in The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott Partington made a classified selection, and in his Sir Walter's Post-Bag a chronological one; letters and stories about Scott; memoranda of his friends, and diaries written by Scott himself at different periods, especially what is known as the Journal, covering those last years from 1825; all these, and other material were at Lockhart's disposal. Not many would perhaps go as far as Carlyle in his London and Westminster Review article in 1837, on the first six volumes, and say that the scattered members of Scott's life lie there, but require to be disentangled. (40) Small wonder was it, however, that some critics should claim that this was a compilation, a work of craftsmanship rather than a work of art. The general verdict, notwithstanding, would seem to attribute to Lockhart's modesty what he wrote in a letter to Will Laidlaw, Jan. 1837, saying that he had only set out to let Scott do Justice to himself, "I have therefore willingly expended the time that would have sufficed for writing a dozen books on what will be no more than the compilation of one." (41)

With all this material, however, there were certain things which Lockhart excluded from the Life, and certain sources of information which were not then available. Following Boswell in many respects, Lockhart yet decides deliberately against the inclusion of conversation, many as were his opportunities of hearing Scott talk. R. P. Gillies in his Recollections of Sir Walter Scott Bart. 1837, discusses the qualities of Scott's conversation, but points out that it had not the distinctive stamp of Johnson's, partly because of the fact that Scott wished his talk to add to good fellowship rather than to achieve personal distinction. Though the telling of anecdotes was characteristic, still more so was Scott's droll or imaginative way of telling them - qualities unable to be reproduced in cold print. (42) These points raised by Gillies may have weighed with Lockhart, but others he tells in describing his first acquaint-

anceship with Scott in 1818, "I never thought it lawful to keep a journal of what passes in private society, so that no-one need expect from the sequel of this narrative any detailed record of Scott's familiar talk. What fragments of it have happened to adhere to a tolerably retentive memory, and may be put in black and white without wounding any feelings which my friend, were he alive, would have wished to spare, I shall introduce as the occasion suggests or serves; but I disclaim on the threshold any thing more than this." To report conversation accurately, Lockhart claims that it is necessary to know thoroughly all the people and their relations one with the other, then he continues, "In proportion as a man is witty and humorous, there will always be about him and his a widening maze and wilderness of cues and catchwords, which the uninitiated will, if they are bold enough to try interpretation, construe, ever, and anon, egregiously amiss - not seldom into arrant falsity. For this one reason, to say nothing of many others, I consider no man justified in journalizing what he sees and hears in a domestic circle where he is not thoroughly at home; and I think there are still higher and better reasons why he should not do so where he is." (43) That Lockhart could have given the flavour of conversation can be seen from his writing at times a "Noctes," even when editor of the Quarterly Review, and from the samples of the Noctes Ambrosianae which we have, allowing for the fact that Wilson was the most frequent contributor. It is obvious that he did not so choose, and shared Sir Walter Scott's annoyance over Basil Hall's jotting down of talk in a notebook, during one of his visits. (44)

To come to the things where Lockhart's material was incomplete - first, the appendix to Volume XII of the Centenary Edition of Scott's Letters prints from copies now in the National Library of Scotland, letters from Scott to his wife found in a private drawer at Abbotsford, in 1935, letters obviously unknown to Lockhart; secondly, the series of letters between Constable and his partner, and son-in-law, Cadell were not available, and this fact must be



borne in mind in discussing later Lockhart's treatment of Scott's financial disaster;(46) thirdly, imperfect and inaccurate knowledge of Scott's first love-affair combined with a delicacy towards Scott's family in the handling of this section of the biography.(47)

That Scott's letters to his wife were unknown to Lockhart can be seen from the fact that, for the year 1797, he uses the letters of "C. C." rather than Scott's own during the period of courtship. In the letters of the period we see Scott fearing the disapproval of his father and of Lord Downshire; there appear also his urgent wooing of her reserve, his humorous teasing, his plans, as the day of the marriage approaches, for the house in George Street, his admiration of her beauty, and the tenderness and solicitude of a lover. Thus begins the letter of 6th Dec.1797, which surely Lockhart would have printed had he possessed it, "I have nothing new to tell you, my dearest friend, except that my patience is turning really thread bare and that I am counting the days, hours, and moments that separate me from my sweet Charlotte."(48) Nor does Lockhart have the letters, received from Scott, when in London in 1807, to his "Dearest Mimi" and "Dearest Love", in which we read the letters of an assured affection; though he describes the places and people he has seen, his heart is at home with her, his children, and Kiki.(49) For the year 1814-1815 Lockhart had told Cadell there were no letters, but the Centenary Edition prints a collection supplementing the Diary of the voyage with the Commissioners of the Northern Lights, letters which give familiar family details, tell of his gathering heath and tangle at the Bullers of Buchan to send home to Sophia and Anne, add details about those aboard, and show his eagerness for letters and for news about his family.(50)

In addition to the effect they might have had on Lockhart's general treatment of Scott's financial affairs, one section of the Life would certainly have been altered by the possession of the Constable-Cadell correspondence. The part dealing with Scott's first reaction to the bad news, what is known as the Polton Ride

would undoubtedly have been changed, for here a letter of Cadell clearly invalidates Lockhart's story.(51)

Obviously, however incomplete Lockhart's knowledge of Scott's first love, he would hesitate to ask Scott's children, and subsequent research has revealed the faultiness of his account. Lord Sands, in Sir Walter Scott's Congé, examines the story as told by Lockhart, finding in it certain inaccuracies. Allowing for Williamina Belsches' being five years younger, he thinks Lockhart's date of 1790 too early for the change in the youthful Scott from a sloven to almost a dandy.(52) In view of the common ancestry of Mrs. Scott and Sir John Belsches, he thinks it highly unlikely that the two families were brought together by the romantic encounter at Greyfriars Church, and the subsequent attachment of the two young people.(53) In his first edition, Lockhart withheld the name of the lady, but in the 1848 abridged edition she is called Margaret, daughter of Sir John and Lady Belsches of Invermay, her own home of Fettercairn being displaced by Lockhart for that of her grandmother's family.(54) In addition, Lockhart prints for 1796 a letter from Scott actually belonging to 1794, mentioning to his aunt, Miss Christian Rutherford, his love-affair.(55) That Lockhart's conception of the affair as quite buried after Scott's marriage is inaccurate can be observed in a reply to the Marchioness of Abercorn. In a letter to him of Jan. 12th 1810 she had referred to a question by Miss Owenson as to whether he had ever been in love, and Scott now answers the question. After referring to his "three years' constancy," he writes, "Mrs. Scott's match and mine was of our own making, and proceeded from the most sincere affection on both sides, which has rather increased than diminished during twelve years' marriage. But it was something short of love in all its forms, which I suspect people only feel once in their lives; folks who have been nearly drowned in bathing rarely venturing a second time out of their depth!"(56) This letter Lockhart does not print, and the tenderness for the lady, intensified by Lady Scott's death, is slurred over by the handling of the Journal extracts.

In connection with the visit to Lady Jane Stuart in 1827, Lockhart suppresses the fact that it occurred on Nov. 6th after some correspondence, and that on Nov. 7th Scott was paying a second visit, this time accompanied by Mrs. Skene; further references to visits are also suppressed. (57) The main cause of error, however, was the misdating by Scott of two letters - that to Erskine of 24th April 1796 from Aberdeen he dated 24th Sept., and the letter of 9th Sept, 1796 from Kelso is dated 9th April. The Highland tour is thus placed by Lockhart in the Autumn instead of in the Spring, and the letter from Miss Cranstoun rallying him on his love-affair is made to fit. It would appear, then, that along with an excursion to Mr. Walker of Dunnottar about excavations, his visit to Fettercairn occurred during the return from a tour to Aberdeen for the Circuit Court. It is not till the Autumn, when Miss Cranstoun is engaged to be married, that we see Scott's growing depression, as he realises that Sir William Forbes is in the field. The final blow comes with the announcement of the engagement, but we see all along that Miss Belsches had not made up her mind, and that Scott had no sense of injury can be recognized from his warm feeling to his former rival at the time of the Volunteer movement, and years later, Sir William Forbes was to be Scott's generous friend in his worldly misfortune. (58)

It now falls to be considered what range of material Lockhart did employ, how he used it, and how successfully he preserved for us the personality of Sir Walter Scott. The first group of material is that, exclusive of letters, supplied by Scott himself. It begins with the incomplete Ashestiel Memoir of April 26th 1808, covering Scott's childhood, schooldays, literary development, and career up to the period of his recognition, with William Clerk, as an advocate. In the chapter supplementing the Ashestiel fragment Scott's memoranda about his ancestors are employed. (59) From this point, regular use is made of Scott's prose and poetry, for biographical details. Occasionally one feels that a little more selection would have been better, examples of this being the printing of extracts from Scott's Essay on Judicial Reform, and



paragraphs from Scott's essay prefixed to Carey's Trivial Poems and Triolets, 1820.(60) While the former shows Scott's jealousy for the national honour and his fear of change, and the other is also characteristic, it hardly seems an adequate reason for publishing the one that it has not been printed, and the other that it is little known. In general, however, the extracts are wisely chosen; those parts from Waverley and the Prefaces to the novels give us a real picture of Scott's boyish exploits, his illness, his reading, his Highland expeditions on law business, his interest in German, and other matters. Especially valuable in this respect are the Prefaces written for the 1830 venture of the magnum opus, and parts of the Lay and Marmion depict the poet's way of living.(61) Another fruitful source is the collection of his journals. The year 1810 is in part covered by an extract from Scott's Hebridean Journal,(62) and July and August of 1814 are represented in detail by a Diary written on a tour to Orkney, Shetland, the Inner Hebrides, and the North of Ireland with the Commissioners of the Northern Lights.(63) From Nov.20th 1825 to the closing months of his life, by far the most freely used material is the Journal, though there are omissions of anything likely to hurt a person still living, provided that the omission does not cause an injustice to Sir Walter Scott.(64) From Nov.20th 1825 to Dec.25th nothing interrupts the Journal entries, then after an introductory section, the entries go on from Dec.26th to Feb.9th 1826, thus covering the period of Scott's financial worries, the crisis, and ruin. After another break, for different material, the Diary is resumed at Feb.10th and carried on to March 15th 1826.(65) From May 1827, the number of entries becomes smaller, partly because of the monotony of Scott's life, continued work against growing ill-health, and partly because, as in the latter part of 1828 and 1830 there were no entries. Whenever there is anything of special interest to record, however, as in the London visit of 1828 and the distressing political scene at Jedburgh in 1830, the relevant part is printed. Only in Jan.16th, 1832 with the mention of John Hugh Lockhart's death do the Journal

extracts stop.(66)

a second fruitful source of material is the correspondence to and from Scott, particularly, and increasingly, the latter. On some occasions letters to Scott may be printed to make more intelligible letters from Scott to a particular friend; in this category are the letters of Ellis at the beginning of the century when their enthusiasm over the collection of ballads and metrical romances, especially Arthurian, was at its height, and when the authorship of Sir Tristrem seemed a vital matter; similarly, a letter from Morritt, offering financial help and inviting Scott to Rokeby is used to introduce a series of letters to that correspondent.(67) Occasional letters such as one from Wordsworth on Marmion, and the 1827 letter from Goethe show the relations of Scott and his literary contemporaries.(68) Business letters from others, principally James Ballantyne, also require admission. The most frequent use of letters to Scott is where he does not himself supply the necessary information. Of such a nature are a letter to him from Miss Jane Ann Cranstoun, later Countess Purgstall, dealing with his first love-affair, and the group of letters from Miss Carpenter during the period before their marriage.(67)

With the great collection of Scott's own letters, impossible as it would be to discuss in a short space all of those included in the Life, we can detect certain principles at work. Rather after the style of a piece of music is the way in which, at certain times, a particular correspondent comes into prominence, then a new one is added, and so the letters play upon the different themes. In the period up to the death of Scott's father in 1799, the recipients are mainly members of his early circle of friends, or of his own family - William Clerk, his aunt Miss Christian Rutherford, or his mother, for example.(70) With the setting up of the Ballantyne printing press, Scott's literary activities begin, and for the next decade George Ellis is the recipient of the larger proportion of letters printed by Lockhart.(71) In the few years preceding 1808, however, Miss Seward, Southey, Lady Louisa Stuart,

Miss Joanna Baillie, and the Morritts have entered the circle of his correspondents. By 1812, letters to Daniel Terry have begun, with the addition also of the poet Crabbe. By 1814, Miss Edgeworth is added.(72) The death of the Duchess of Buccleuch causes a temporary emphasis in 1814 on letters to the Duke.(73) In the year 1822, the furnishing of Abbotsford makes Terry the most frequent recipient of letters.(74) With 1819 had come a series of letters to Cornet Scott, and after his marriage comes a group of letters to Lieutenant and Mrs.Scott.(75) At intervals appear occasional letters to people with whom early friendship, or his varied interests and activities brought him into contact. Instead of grouping the letters of a period according to recipient, sometimes Lockhart gives a series of letters with a connecting theme, and fitted into one another like a mosaic. In the year 1817, for example, his own health, Abbotsford, with his life there, and again literature, form the recurring themes to Morritt, Miss Baillie, Terry, Laidlaw, Tom Scott, and James Ballantyne.(76) In the period from 1825, when such wide use is made of the Journal, where Scott's innermost thoughts and feelings are displayed more clearly than in any letter, the number of letters employed is of necessity reduced. It will be noted, however, that immediately a gap in the Journal occurs, this is filled by a series of letters, as those chiefly to Mr. and Mrs.Lockhart during the latter part of 1828.(77) Occasionally, too, it is necessary to supplement the Journal where letters express more fully what is in Scott's mind; such are the letters of Sept.1831 written before leaving Abbotsford on the European tour, letters pathetically revealing his sense of his own bodily weakness and his self-deception about the payment of his debts.(78)

A third type of material used freely by Lockhart is letters about Scott, memoranda of people who had an intimate view of him at certain periods, and anecdotes told of him by reliable witnesses. To this group belong the stories of those who knew him as a child at Sandyknowe, and Mrs.Cockburn's letter after a visit to George Square suggesting the young Walter's precocity.(79) Though the



parts about Mr. and Mrs. Scott could profitably have been reduced, the memoranda of Mr. Mitchell, then tutor with them, provide a useful picture of the family life. (80) With 1792, comes a large extract giving a vivid and characteristic picture of Scott during the "Liddesdale raids," from the memoranda of Mr. Robert Shortreed, Sheriff-Substitute of Roxburgh. (81) Mr. Skene is the source of a picture of Scott during his period as quartermaster of Edinburgh Light Horse. (82) From this time on, Lockhart prints the memoranda of a succession of Scott's visitors, or people whom Scott visited, each of whom adds something to our final impression of Scott in the family circle, and in his relations with others. A few of them may be mentioned here. R.P. Gillies's Recollections of Sir Walter Scott is quoted in extenso for a visit to Lasswade in 1802-3. (83) For 1803 we have Wordsworth telling of a visit, and the reading of the first four cantos of the Lay. (84) The year 1805 finds Mr. Skene describing Scott at Ashestiel, rising early to work, then spending the rest of the day in the open. (85) 1808 brings us the visit of Morritt, with the day spent in the open, and in 1809 his memorandum describes Scott's amused tolerance of his "lionising" in London. (86) Amongst others, there is for the year 1823 a long extract from the Memoranda of Mr. Adolphus, memorable for the very fine picture of Scott's laughter. (87) Capt. Basil Hall supplies a picture of Scott writing in Mrs. Brown's lodgings, and, for Scott in failing health, but with his intellectual interest and courage undimmed, Lockhart quotes Adolphus's Memoranda of his third visit to Scott; the last extract from Adolphus appears under the year 1831. (89) Although not appearing in such bulk, Lockhart's material includes some from people who had a unique opportunity of seeing Scott on a particular occasion. Of this kind are the notes of a friend who was present at the dinner on 23rd Feb. 1826, when Lord Meadowbank made public announcement of Scott's authorship of the novels, and who took notes of Scott's reply; similar notes enable him to report fully Scott's speech to the freeholders of Roxburgh on 21st March 1831, to let us see the whole scene, and hear Scott's closing words,

"Moriturus vos saluto." (90) To Mrs. Davy, Sir William Gell, and Mr. Cheney Lockhart owes the narrative of Scott's European tour. (91) In addition, to the Memorandum of James Ballantyne Lockhart owes regularly information about Scott's literary activity, and numbers of characteristic anecdotes, such as Scott's reply about whether the Prince had asked about the authorship of Waverley, "He is far too well-bred a man ever to put so ill-bred a question." (92) One interesting extract from James Ballantyne's death-bed paper shows Scott's lack of realisation of the financial danger of the firm. (93) Numerous as these extracts are, they form only a part of the material used by Lockhart, and one could go on adding names - Mr. Train, Cadell, Gala, Mr. Pringle of Whytbank, Mrs. Skene, Allan Cunningham, to name only some of them - of those who supplied Lockhart with the raw material for his biography.

To this he was, of course, able to add much that had fallen under his personal observation, or had been told him during the fourteen years in which he knew Scott, and the twelve as his son-in-law. He recalls how Scott spoke of his fever-pitch of activity for the Ballantynes in 1808; he remembers the enthusiastic reception by the public of Rokeby when he himself was at Oxford; and tells of Scott's remark that Guy Mannering was the work of six weeks at Christmas. Almost the largest section without use of other material appears in the year 1818. Here, we have the first meeting of Scott and Lockhart at the house of Mr. Home Drummond in May, the subjects of their conversation, the visit to Castle Street with Scott in the library, a defence of Scott as a conversationalist, his domestic habits, the evening excursions, Sunday dinners, with an account of Scott's taste in food, music, and literature, finally a picture of Scott at St. John Street with the Ballantynes, especially before a book was due to appear. (94) In the same year, comes his first visit with Wilson to Abbotsford where he sees Scott amongst his friends, and wandering his beloved Borderland. (95) The year 1819 supplies a picture of Scott after his illness, and gives a first-hand impression of the spirit with which he met physical pain. (96)

In 1820, we again see Scott at Abbotsford, both before, and after the marriage of his daughter Sophia(97). For 1821 the two most outstanding personal additions are his visit with Scott to the dying John Ballantyne, Scott's remark at the funeral being printed, "I feel as if there would be less sunshine for me from this day forth,"(98) and his picture of the family life at Chiefswood, with Scott as a constant visitor.(99) Passing over the others, we come to the vivid scene in 1825 when Constable, James Ballantyne, and Scott discuss the project for cheap literature, and the Life of Napoleon is put in motion.(100) Supplementary to the Journal extracts, come the story of the rumours passed on to Scott about Hurst and Robinson and Constable, the Polton ride, and the picture of Constable's condition in London.(101) Of the remaining passages written from Lockhart's own knowledge, the three most vivid are of Scott during 1827 when the Lockharts visited Portobello for "Hugh Littlejohn's" health,(102) of him in failing health and amid political agitation during 1831,(103) and the last journey to Abbotsford with the closing days of Scott's life.(104)

The last type of material is to be found in the miscellaneous anecdotes scattered throughout the book, anecdotes characteristic, dramatic, or throwing light on the multiplicity of Scott's interests. These anecdotes are used as illustration from his early childhood, with the story of his clapping his hands calling "Bonny! bonny!;" at the sight of the lightning flashes,(105) through middle life with the story of his refusal in 1809 of an invitation to dine because of the "Death of an old friend," he having just lost his dog Camp,(106) to his hearing in 1832 of the death of Goethe, and remarking "But he at least died at home. - Let us to Abbotsford."(107)

As has been already suggested it was Lockhart's deliberate intention to refrain from recording Scott's conversation. Of his period in the debating societies, he suggests that Scott had interesting material, but not oral eloquence. Later, he defends Scott's conversation from the charge of being commonplace, saying it is commonplace only like daylight or sunshine.(108) Morritt had



paid tribute to the quality of Scott's talk, its animation, fund of illustration - pathetic or ludicrous, and the tremendous memory it revealed. Adolphus, however, deals with the difficulty of reproducing Scott's conversation, because its virtue is not in pithy sayings, but in the sweetness, abandon, felicity and power of dramatisation.(109) In the main, two things will be noted where we hear Scott's actual words in the Life. They are in conversation recorded not by Lockhart but by others - Allan Cunningham during Scott's Coronation visit of 1821, parts of Basil Hall's Memoirs, and the talk to Adolphus in his 1827 visit.(110) Secondly, quite often it is a characteristic remark by Scott which is recorded rather than any real conversation arising from the interchange of talk amongst several speakers.

When, in 1848, having cleared off by means of the copyright on Scott's works and on the Life the remaining debts, Lockhart settled by abridging his biography the £1,000 incurred by the novelist personally, he enabled Walter Lockhart to succeed to an unencumbered Abbotsford.(111) Although he suggested that the value of the work lay in the minuteness of its detail, a comparison of the full Life and his abridgement of it provides some interesting sidelights on what Lockhart regarded as the most important elements of his biographical material.

Two types of material are much reduced by Lockhart, and one almost entirely excluded. There is a great reduction in the epistolary material, and in the extracts from Scott's Journals. Certain groups of letters are completely omitted - all his early letters up to the year 1790, the letters to Ellis about his activity over ballad-collecting, the correspondence with Crabbe, the letters to Cornet Scott, and to him and his wife after their marriage, are only some of these.(112) One letter to Morritt, dated Sept.14th 1814, supplies the place of the long Diary of a Tour with the Commissioners of the Northern Lights.(113) Of the Journal from 1825 there is much more rigid selection; the first part dealing only with the subject of his financial crisis is included, along with the sections

on the death of Lady Scott, and his sense of loss afterwards. (114) From that point, only the landmarks are recorded, such as his rare social relaxations, and the publication of Napoleon. The other type of material cut in the abridged Life is critical writing from the pens of others - reviews, for example, of the Lady of the Lake, and the Lord of the Isles are omitted, also the part summarising Adolphus's views on the authorship of Waverley. Partly by the omission of letters illustrative of the narrative and the cutting of others, and partly by the throwing into narrative form material contained in letters, the element of narrative bulks much more largely in the shorter Life. A good example of the treatment is to be found in the section dealing with the writing of Peveril of the Peak. The period of illness recorded in Scott's letters is here summed up in a paragraph introductory to the passage about the writing of the novel; the criticism which follows is that appearing in the longer Life, but with the omission of Mr. Senior's views on the book; included, however, is the anecdote linking the name of Peveril with that of Scott himself. (115) It was clearly Lockhart's purpose to create a smooth narrative of Scott's career, and this involved not only omission, but a few minor adjustments. As in the longer Life, the Ashestiel fragment forms the first chapter, but instead of amplifying it in the second chapter, Lockhart takes up the story at the point where it stops, a few illustrative anecdotes having been appended as footnotes to the memoir. He thus arrives much more quickly at Scott's period of active participation in society, law, and literature. The material about the famous Border football match he here places before, instead of after, the section about James Hogg, omitting, as one would expect, James Ballantyne's newspaper article on the subject. (116) In connection with the visit of George IV to Edinburgh, there is some transposition to place together the extract from Crabbe's Journal, Scott's remark about Crabbe, then the story of their meeting, before the narrative of the King's visit is resumed. (117)

Only occasionally does Lockhart add details not appearing in

the earlier biography; such are the sentence from an October letter rounding off the section about the financial crisis of 1813, and the details added at the end about Scott's descendants and the circumstances leading to the issue of the abridgement.(118)

More important is the material which Lockhart included without reduction, and the parts retained, of material slightly reduced. From these we see that alongside the narrative of Scott's life, Lockhart wished to place a picture of him at certain points in his career, and to include everything that was most characteristic of him as a man. For this reason, we find entire, for example, Skene's reminiscences of Scott with the Edinburgh Light Horse, and at Ashestiel, the narrative of the publication of the Lady of the Lake, including the stories in James Ballantyne's Memorandum of the ignorance of Scott's children about it, his personal picture of Scott at Abbotsford during a visit in the Spring of 1819, the description of how Scott came to write the Journal and of how he began it, and the description of Scott's stroke on 15th Feb. 1830.(119) Two sources of information for a picture of Scott are used less freely; the Memoranda of Adolphus, formerly used for a picture of Scott in failing health in 1831, are not here employed, and of the first entries from it in 1823, those sections which deal with that particular visit are omitted, while Lockhart prints what gives a permanent picture of Scott - the quality of his conversation, his laughter, his habits, and his attitude to the secret of his novels (120). One part of the fuller Life is, however, printed complete. From the return journey in 1832, begun on May 11th, till Scott is laid beside his life's partner in Dryburgh Abbey, Lockhart omits nothing. Paragraph by paragraph, and detail by detail, there is traced for us, as in the longer Life, that period of illness in London, the solicitude of the crowd, the voyage to Leith, the ride home, and the last sad scenes where Lockhart's own care for the dying man is suggested rather than declared.(121) That part of the biography is one answer to those who would dismiss the work easily as a compilation, and that the author realised its artistry



and its truth as a final picture of his father-in-law can be seen by its being printed entire.

So important is the epistolary material of Lockhart's Life of Scott, that some discussion of his selection and handling of the letters cannot be omitted. First of all, it must be pointed out that for certain letters Lockhart is the only authority, so that it is impossible to see how he has handled these. At one time, it was believed that the large group of letters to Mr. George Ellis fell into this category; but there came to light in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, manuscripts of letters from the first, printed in part by Lockhart, March 27th 1801 to the last, dated Jan. 9th 1813. These letters, not discovered in time to be inserted chronologically, but published in the Appendix to Vol. XII of the Centenary Edition, reveal the same features of treatment as do the others where a comparison can be made, but even more than others do they show how well Lockhart has selected what to include in the biography. (122) The discussions of Ellis's work, textual comments on Sir Tristrem, and detailed analysis of "Sir Gy" (Guy of Warwick) are amongst the omissions, while Lockhart selects parts of general interest, and what will bear on the biography. While Lockhart omits letters to James Ballantyne printed in the Letters, and prints others, for certain letters, such as the one about the start of the printing business, (123) his is the only version. Beginning with that discussing the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border in 1802, is a series of letters to Miss Anna Seward, for some of which no other source has been found. (124) No MSS. copies are available of certain letters to Daniel Terry, such a group coming in 1817, to Southey, to Tom Scott, and to William Laidlaw, amongst others. (125) For certain semi-official letters also, Lockhart provides us with the only version; such are those of Feb. 4th and 7th to Croker about the Scottish Regalia, and those in the beginning of 1829 to the Earl of Elgin, recommending the young sculptor Mr. Greenshields. (126) On the other hand, letters to certain correspondents are almost or entirely omitted, and only from the Letters, along with the two

volumes edited by Partington, The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott, and Sir Walter's Post-Bag, do we realise how much Lockhart had to discard. (127)

From these volumes, we see that one process at work in Lockhart's selection is the narrowing of the vast epistolary field. In Partington's first volume is to be found a section entitled, "Curious Grist to the Waverley Mill," which represents the miscellaneous information conveyed by a variety of correspondents for use by the author at some point in his novels - a shepherd writing about fairies in 1820, Robert Chambers sending a story about Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1828, and a writer, not at all used by Lockhart, Mrs. Hughes, giving a series of interesting letters on Jacobite subjects. (128) Similarly, the Letters show that when Scott had on hand any literary project, there would issue from his pen a series of letters to his various friends on whatever was then in his mind. Such letters as those in 1805 to Forster, who was at one time proposed as joint editor of Dryden's works, are excluded by Lockhart, nor do we find letters, or parts of letters to Lady Louisa Stuart, Mr. Berwick, Mr. Hartstonge, and Constable referring to, or asking assistance about his Life of Swift. (129) Except where finance obtruded itself, Lockhart seemed to be reticent in speaking about it in Scott's life; at anyrate, in a letter to Morritt of Oct. 11th, 1812, dated by Lockhart Oct. 12th, there is the characteristic omission of a reference to the "bill enclosed", and of the hope that the accommodation will not inconvenience Morritt, an omission which makes it difficult to understand the sentence following in Lockhart, "More on such a subject cannot be said among friends who give each other credit for feeling as they ought." (130) Another means of narrowing the field was to exclude letters to and from people undistinguished socially, and at the opposite extreme, the nobly born who yet did not play an intimate part in Scott's life. From a schoolmistress, Mistress Elizabeth Bond, does Scott receive a letter in 1808 and from a schoolboy admirer, Master Hart Davis Sparling of Colchester, one in 1824,

while Scott writes characteristically kind letters to Miss Millar, the governess at one time of his children, and to Miss Smith, the actress, who was to help with the "Terryfication" of his novels. (131) On the other hand, letters to Lady Charlotte Rawdon, and the Marchioness of Huntly are excluded. (132) One large group, those to the Marchioness of Abercorn, now to be found in the Pierpont Morgan collection, Lockhart fails to print, but here there may be another motive at work, (133) for it was to her, such was their intimacy, that Scott made the confession already quoted about his first love. The evidence of Scott's letters to her, whatever those from her suggest of hero-worship, is that he regarded her only as a charming friend who had it in her power at times to help him. One last selective influence frequently at work is the exclusion of a proportion of the letters dealing with purely domestic matters. Here the choice must have been particularly difficult, and from the abundance which Lockhart offers, it may seem captious to wish that he had included a letter to his daughter Sophia about her History lesson, and still more his fond letter to her from London in March 1821, with its reference to "Pickanini," the dearly loved grandson, "Hugh Littlejohn." (134)

In the actual handling of the letters, as distinct from their selection, the first difficulty to confront the biographer was the dating of them. The Centenary Edition, owing to Scott's habit of leaving out the date at times, or, as has been already seen, misdating them, has to be content with dating some letters from their postmark. It was obvious that sometimes mistakes should be made through error of judgment, or his inability to ensure absolute accuracy; for example, the letter to Miss Christian Rutherford, dated in the Watson collection 8th June 1794, is dated by Lockhart 5th June 1796, and the letter to Morritt of 18th March 1817 Lockhart dates as the 20th. (135) There are cases, however, where his date, though different from the MS. one may be correct; such is the one about £4,000 guarantee from the Duke of Buccleuch, dated by Scott "3th Sept." and placed by Lockhart as 5th Sept. 1813 (136)



Wherever these occur, Lockhart tries to correct inaccuracies in the letters; though he lets slip Scott's "son of Lancelot Gobbo," instead of correcting to "sire", in a letter of Jan. 9th 1813, (137) on the whole he emends to produce greater accuracy. Regularly, too, he alters Scott's special spelling and capitalisation; such words written by Scott "favourd" and "accomplishd" are expanded, "Sandiknow" loses its individual spelling, and a Law MS. letter to his mother sending "love to my father and the buoys" from her "dutifull and affectionate son" is printed with the normal spelling, while "Wild ducks" and "friday" are given the normal punctuation. (138) It is rather difficult, however, to tell why "Miss Chritty," Scott's usual way of addressing his aunt, Miss Christian Rutherford, should be changed to "Miss Christy." Another thing Lockhart has to do is to expand Scott's abbreviations, such as "Edin'" and "Best Comps to the coll," abbreviations natural to a person writing much, and with a limited time at his disposal, as in this letter from the Advocates' Library. (139)

In Lockhart's day, textual reproduction was not regarded as an end in itself; few people would, I imagine, be found to object to such alterations as have been discussed, and many would not regard as serious his habit of marking on some occasions the fact that part of a letter has been omitted, and on others, where perhaps the omission is much greater, giving no such indication. Lockhart's custom of "manipulating" the letters has, however, brought on him much more censure. The first to draw attention to this feature was Davidson Cook in *The Nineteenth Century*, in 1927, in an article on Lockhart's Treatment of Scott's Letters. There he pointed out that in no subsequent edition did Lockhart alter the text of the letters published in the 1837-38 biography, and that for ninety years no-one knew how he had handled them. Lang, who alone had access to the Abbotsford MSS. for his Life of Lockhart, gave no sign. Now, however, from the Honresfeld Collection of Sir James Law, he is able to show that Lockhart included words for which there was no MS. authority, and concocted letters from those he had. Interesting points made in

extenuation of Lockhart are Scott's permission about his articles to "cut and quarter", (though Cook admits that with a book ostensibly giving what Scott actually wrote, it was a different matter), and the Gifford tradition of the Quarterly, whereby an article was "improved", since the practice of corruption was general. Of this the writer says, "It is an editor's privilege to edit, but in the old days when textual purity had not been exalted as a literary virtue, adding, suppressing, and improving were much exercised functions.... 'Altermania' seems to have been a most infectious editorial disease." (140) Only, however, with the Centenary Edition of the Letters was it possible to see the extent of Lockhart's manipulation.

So general is the process that it would be impossible to enumerate the examples, but a few will illustrate his method and the extent of the alteration. From Colonel Murray's copy of a letter to Gifford in 1808 about the Quarterly Review, then projected, it can be seen that Lockhart has added "makes a point of every contributor receiving this bonus"; instead of saying that Murray has been in communication with Canning about it, Lockhart says "with you" (that is with Gifford); a few turns of phrase are altered, and Lockhart omits certain duties of the editor suggested by the letter; he then adds a section on the Edinburgh Reviewer's accepting reviews from people of inferior powers, provided they understood the book, suggesting, too, that these can be made palatable "by throwing in a handful of spice;" sentences are missed out at certain points and others added; then, instead of "sounder principles can be most advantageously brought forward," Lockhart writes "how this warfare should be managed;" now comes a large addition about the politics of the Quarterly, the suggestion of the first volume's being out in January having been taken from an earlier part of the letter; the original reference "we have lost a host in Frere," is altered by Lockhart to "In Mr. Frere we have a potent ally"; the letter ends with a reference to the contents of the first volume taken from an earlier part, but omits the

reference to the help expected by Murray from Malthus. (141)

Here we have an example of the manipulation within a letter, but Lockhart on occasion combined letters without indication. In 1813, Lockhart dates as 31st July a letter to John Ballantyne from Drumlanrig, written on 29th July. From it he omits two sentences referring to a sum due that month, and the closing sentence about another letter to be sent by post. For its postscript, he takes its own postscript, plus a little bit from a continuation written on the 30th, (also now to be carried by the Marquis of Queensberry to Dumfries) plus the postscript for the letter of the 30th. The part of the letter of the 30th July omitted by Lockhart is mainly concerned with details, but includes Scott's interesting confession, "To tell you the truth I fear nothing in the business but your odd ways of keeping all difficulties out of view till the very instant moment of ruin." (142)

A characteristic example of Lockhart's working upon the letters is referred to in Mrs. Oliphant's William Blackwood and his Sons. The occasion was the section dealing with the publication of Black Dwarf. It will be noted, in passing that she admits Blackwood's criticism of the ending of Black Dwarf, but suggests that he never spared his criticism, and that Scott always appreciated his literary acumen, so that, contrary to Lockhart's interpretation, the note sent to James Ballantyne was one written in a momentary exasperation. She states, too, that the criticism occurred at the time of the book's being still in printed sheets, and not yet ready for publication, for Blackwood always took an interest in the literary side of his work. The point with which we are here specially concerned, however, is that she gives a different version of the letter of annoyance, sometimes referred to as "the Death-head Hussars" letter, because of Scott's expression, "I belong to the Death-head Hussars of Literature, who neither take nor give criticism," from the one said by Lockhart to have been sent to James Ballantyne for enclosure to Blackwood. Her suggestion is that Lockhart <sup>am</sup> amalgamated two notes, the reference to Gifford's being consulted



not being an invention of James Ballantyne but Scott's special cause of resentment.(143) In a note to a later edition Lockhart points out the disagreement between the version printed in the Life and one which has since come into his hands from Blackwood, saying that probably James Ballantyne invented the one of Oct.4th.(144) The evidence of the Glen MS. , however, shows that if James Ballantyne did as Lockhart claimed, Lockhart invented the letter in the text, with no consideration for politeness, and when he learned that Blackwood had not complained in writing, altered the word "letter" of the original to the word "proposal". We are thus in possession of three versions of the letter, Lockhart's, James Ballantyne's to Blackwood, and the Glen MS., dated Oct.3rd, which gives after the reference to Gifford this addition, "It is good enough for them and they had better make up the £200 they propose to swindle me out of than trouble themselves about the contents."(145)

The fact seems to have been that Lockhart did not regard his duty as Scott's biographer in the same light as do those having behind them the whole machinery of textual criticism. The letters appear as valuable instruments for the outlining of Scott's career, and the delineating of his character, not as things sacrosanct in themselves. For the sake of an artistic whole, Lockhart was prepared to depart from the strictly chronological order; for example, in 1813 he takes a group of miscellaneous letters to Ellis, Miss Baillie and Morritt in which the subject of Rokeby comes up for discussion; he then goes back to select sentences about it from letters to James Ballantyne, and concludes the section with parts from a letter to Miss Edgeworth, about the poem, written in the year 1818, before passing to the group of letter dealing with the financial crisis of 1813.(146) For the sake, too, of producing his own effect of accuracy of character, he is prepared to sacrifice accuracy of wording. That he was faithful to the tone of Scott's letters can be seen in such a minor point as the writer's fondness for Shakespearean quotation. Dr.McCrie's criticism of the Covenanters in Old Mortality evokes the comment;"do they suppose

because they are virtuous, and choose to be thought outrageously so 'there shall be no more cakes and ale'? 'Ay, by our lady, and ginger shall be hot in the mouth too.'" and quotations from Othello appear in letters of 1830.(147) On the wider issue of truth of character it can be claimed that no alteration in the letters falsifies the general impression of Scott's life and character, that they play a vital part in the building up of the final effect, and that many would be found to agree with Professor Dunn, when he claims of Froude, as of Lockhart, that understanding and first-hand knowledge are of greater biographical value than technical accuracy.(148)

The other source from which Lockhart draws most freely is Scott's Journal. The publication of Scott's Journal in 1890 shows the same processes at work in the extracts from it, as in the epistolary matter employed by Lockhart. Still more are they revealed by the edition in process of publication, from a Photostat in the National Library of Scotland of the copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library. As Douglas to a certain extent followed Lockhart, and indeed Douglas's worst mistakes occur in parts where he has not Lockhart's help in reading the MS. of the Journal, it is only now that we are discovering mistakes of transcription.(149) Such is the Photostat entry for 6th Dec. 1825, where Scott describes the young briefless advocates as "dusting the rails of the stove with their black gowns", and where Lockhart writes "stair" for "stove", despite a reference in the Life to the "Stove School".(150) Again, the Photostat entry for 9th Feb. 1826, "Mr. Laidlaw dined with us. Says Mr. Gibson told him he would despair of my affairs were it any but S(ir). W(alter). S(cott). No doubt so shoul(d) I and am well nigh doing so at any rate" shows a distortion by the writing of "dispose" for "despair", when it was obvious that no-one could dispose of Sir Walter's affairs.(151) The Photostat, however, shows Lockhart's care to correct in hitherto unsuspected places - the entry for Nov. 23rd 1825 quoting "Rari apparent nantes in gurgite vasto," the unmetrical form used in the Heart of Midlothian,

is restored to "Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;" while the Nov.24th quotation of the same year about M.Davidoff, "So wise and young, they say, never live long," is restored to its form appearing in Richard III, "So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long." (152) As in the letters, so the Photostat edition enables us to see that in the extracts from the Journal Lockhart not only changes Scott's spelling, but polishes the style. For Nov.20th 1825, the original speaking of Will Clerk says though still "anxious to gain your suffrage to his opinioun he endeavours rather to conciliate your opinioun than conquer it by force," whereas Douglas, following Lockhart, printed for the first "opinion" the word "views". (153) It is interesting to see how Scott's thoughts strayed, for, in the midst of his mournful recollections, and a reference to Anne Scott's fainting fit in May 17th 1826, a little account is balanced; following Lockhart, Douglas misses this, as well as the marginal jotting about money, in the entry for May 23rd 1826. (154)

Even without this new edition, however, a comparison of Douglas's edition of the Journal, and the extracts printed in the Life, reveals interesting points about Lockhart's selection and handling of the Journal, for, despite his mistakes, Douglas published nine tenths of it. In the entry for May 28th 1826, Scott comments on remembering in the morning a detail forgotten at night, but, as he had said something similar on Feb.10th 1826, this part of the entry is omitted. (155) Where there is little of general interest, work bulking largely in the entries, as in the period of Scott's return to Abbotsford in 1826, whole days are omitted even in the period for which the Journal is most freely used, but as soon as we come to Aug.2nd, with the amusing argument between Scott and Duty, the section is printed in full. (156) Mention has already been made of the omission of financial and business details, and these we find have been excluded from the entries of Jan.27th and 28th 1826, at the time of the Ballantyne crash, (157). Little casual comments, dropping from Scott's pen, and giving to the Journal its unstudied effect - such as, "Walked with



Skene on the Calton Hill" - are often omitted to give continuity to the rest of the entry.(158) "Regard for the feelings of living persons" causes Lockhart at times to omit; a wise procedure when he has to deal with an entry like that of Feb.7th 1826, which is taken up mainly with private gossip and his opinion about Lady Davy, Scott adding "but it is between my Gurnal and me."(159) Throughout the references from Dec.3rd 1825 to the financial difficulties of his fellow-contributor to "Blackwood," R.P.Gillies, Lockhart substitutes for Scott's R.P.G. the letters T.S., thereby suggesting that they refer to Tom Scott.(160) Whether Gillies did not himself recognize the references, hardly a likely supposition in view of the detailed mention of his visits, or whether he wished to preserve the reticence about his finances begun by Lockhart, it is interesting to find him in Memoirs of a Literary Veteran printing the extract of Dec.18th 1825 as it appears in Lockhart. Again, there is very frequent exclusion by Lockhart of any reference to himself or his family; where Scott mentions writing an article for Lockhart we find this altered to "for the Quarterly." In the sections dealing with his own departure for London, almost the only one retained is that of Dec.5th recording the actual event.(161) By the reduction of his references to the Lockhart family we are made rather less conscious than we might have been of Scott's ceaseless anxiety about his little grandson, John Hugh Lockhart.

On the whole, these various omissions are either not missed, do not affect the portrait Lockhart is trying to paint, or are a definite artistic gain. Only occasionally do we find an example like that of March 1st 1826, when the reminiscences of Scott about his early efforts in painting and his teacher "Bluebeard" Walker are omitted, and the omission makes it difficult to understand the sentence printed by Lockhart, "Do you know why you have written all this down, Sir W.?"(162) That Scott was subject, in the period just after his ruin, to moods of bitterness becomes less apparent by a few cuts in the Journal, particularly in March 17th 1826, when

with other things four bitter trains of thought are excluded, along with the comment, "I must finish Woodstock well if I can; otherwise how the Philistines will rejoice!" (163)

In the material taken from the Journal, though less frequently than with the letters, the question of dating arises. Obviously, Scott was wrong in not dating the second part of the Jan. 18th entry as Jan. 19th 1831, for in the first paragraph he mentions working from 8.0 to 1.0, and in the second from 10.0 to 1.0, a mistake rectified by Lockhart. (164) More frequently, however, we find Lockhart combining under one date the entry of several days. A curious instance of this, and one difficult to explain on any grounds, is the last printed entry, the rest of the Journal being a mere record of the tour. Scott had grouped under one heading the events of Jan. 16th to 23rd 1832, and after the brief mention of John Hugh Lockhart's death comes a gap, then "I went one evening to the Opera." By Lockhart, the death is recorded under Jan. 16th, and immediately following comes, "I went to the Opera in the evening." (165) Thus Scott's reserved entry, that of deep but wordless grief, becomes, by the juxtaposition, almost callous.

The most extraordinary working up of an entry is that of Dec. 18th 1825, when the storm clouds were gathering around Sir Walter Scott, but it reveals only more extensively the methods adopted. The Photostat itself is for this date in a confused condition. At the top of P41, we have "In reading begin in P.43 and read these and succeeding pages after P44." As the connected entry begins on P.42, this must have been the page meant, for it begins "Ballantyne called on me this morning." The Journal had to be read Pp. 42-43, 41, then a second 42, then 44, Scott's footnote on P.44 of the MS. instructing to turn back to Pp.41 and 42, because he had turned the page accidentally, and a bankrupt ought not to waste two leaves of paper. (166) In principle, the Photostat and Douglas agree here, nor can Lockhart's order be explained by the confusion of the original, for he overrides the order of the Journal, no matter how the pages are taken.

Lockhart begins with a paraphrased reference to the visit of T:S. (Scott's R.P.G.) which occurs half-way through the original entry. After the omission of a sentence, he goes on with Scott's regretful comment on the "Too-well-known" and the end of the feast of fancy and independence, continuing to "but if the tears start at it, let them flow." From the remainder of the paragraph, dealing with how much Scott would do to save Abbotsford, only the middle sentence and a half are selected. Lockhart now continues, apart from a few slight variations, such as "unless good news should come," for Scott's "unless the good news hold," with the closing paragraph for the day. This is the second entry, written after Half-Past Eight, when Cadell's holding out in his visit a hope of recovery causes Scott to look back, saying, "What a life mine has been," and referring in his reminiscences to a heart "handsomely pieced again, but the crack will remain to my dying day." There now follows in Lockhart the second part of the first paragraph, written after the visit of Ballantyne, announcing the virtual failure of Hurst & Robinson. Scott, in the full Journal, calculates his resources and past expenses, with the confession, "land was my temptation," but continues, "I think nobody can lose a penny - that is one comfort." Lockhart begins his paragraph at this point, altering it to "Nobody in the end can lose a penny by me - that is one comfort." From the paragraph he omits the part where Scott says that Abbotsford has been his Delilah, and, thinking that he will now see others enjoying it, he writes "I have half resolved never to see the place again." This was a natural enough feeling, but does not fit in with the sentence after which, by his cut, it is placed by Lockhart, that pitying the sad hearts at Darnick and in the Abbotsford cottages. Lockhart continues with the part about his dogs, but interposes, before Scott's pity for Will Laidlaw and Tom Purdie, his fancy about the finding of the Journal in days to come, but without the reference to his being at one time worth £60,000, a part actually appearing just after his expression of gratitude to Cadell, and before the paragraph, "What a life mine



has been." Lockhart now takes up the broken thread about Will Laidlaw, Tom Purdie, and James Ballantyne's sympathy, omitting, however, the part about Cadell's unexpected sympathy, and Lady Scott's failure of him in the face of ruin. A few more sections are now gathered together, though other parts are omitted, and Lockhart ends with the first half of the paragraph about Cadell's visit, the good news, and Scott's tribute to him and to the virtues of rough and ready men, rather than those whose virtues escape in "salt rheum, sal-volatile, and a white pocket handkerchief." There is no other example of such a complete remoulding of an entry, and while the artistic effect may be greater, one feels tempted to wish that Lockhart had printed it as it left Scott's pen, with his thoughts coming and going, and his emotions surging up, as in the moment of crisis.(167)

So far, Lockhart's material has been discussed according to its kind, but a few words must be said of the way in which this material is blended. No less remarkable than the way in which the material dovetails into the narrative is the way in which Lockhart passes from one type of material to another, with almost unerring instinct, so that, at one time he gives us a picture of Scott's way of living, at another of an event in his career, and at another a side-light on his character. Two illustrations will serve to bring out the point. First let us take the publication of the Lady of the Lake - he announces its completion, tells of the friendlier relations with Constable, and prints Scott's letter to him; then come Cadell's account of James Ballantyne's reading of the separate cantos, details of the number of copies, and a quotation from the 1830 Introduction, giving the genesis of the poem; this is followed by an extract from George Ellis's review of it in the Quarterly, Scott's letter of reply to Southey's appreciation of it, and one to Ellis referring to Canning's criticism; finally, come the stories about the family ignorance of the poem, drawn from James Ballantyne's Memoranda.(168) Secondly, there is the part dealing with the summer and autumn of 1827. He begins with

his own knowledge, obtained during his time at Portobello, of Scott's literary activities, and excursions, and of Constable's death, including an extract from the Journal; extracts from it also deal with the death of Canning; from August we have an extensive extract from Adolphus's Memorandum; now the topic of the Gourgaud challenge, a consequence of the Life of Napoleon, is brought up in extracts from the Diary, and in letters to Will Clerk, and to the Editor of the Edinburgh Weekly Journal; this is followed by the defence of Scott appearing in the Times; next follow details of Scott's preparation for the duel, details known to the family; then comes a narrative of the tour with Scott's friends Mrs. Maclean Clephane and Lady Northampton, with extracts telling about another tour in October to Ravensworth to meet the Duke of Wellington; extracts about this tour are drawn from the letters of Scott and others, and the continuation of it is also recorded in the Journal; finally we have the return to Abbotsford, and a pleasant vignette of his life there. (169)

From the material thus welded, Lockhart is able to give the outline of Sir Walter Scott's career, both public and private. The public includes his various stages in the practice of the law, his recognition as advocate, his appointment as Sheriff of Selkirk, then as Clerk of Session, his knighthood, and his honorary degrees. (170) His private includes his love-affair, his marriage, his various homes - Lasswade, Ashestiel, Abbotsford, and the houses in Edinburgh - his family, and their progress through life. (171) Running alongside this, Lockhart sees his literary life, and to represent that stream he describes the excursions which provided the raw material for the poems and novels, the people whom Scott saw and knew who suggested various characters, the circumstances out of which suggestions for the work grew, and the way in which it was written; (172) he marks also the way in which the various works reveal Scott's character and his developing powers. The last side represented is the business element in Scott's life. At various points, he sums up Scott's financial position, and

describes his various relations with his publishers - the Ballantynes, Constable, Murray, and Blackwood, and Cadell. Sometimes it is a little detail that falls to be referred to; sometimes as in the discussion of affairs in 1813, it has to be elaborate, Lockhart using a mass of material, facts, and figures, puzzling his way through intricacies, and allocating the share of responsibility. (173) All these combine to give a picture of the various strands making up Scott's full life.

A second thing which Lockhart sets out to do is to give us a picture of Scott at different points in his life, and from the varied material employed, we are able to visualise him against his changing background. We see him as a comely stripling, as an older man, writing amidst his family, working in the Court of Session, then going eagerly to the country to revel in the fresh air there; we see him at Abbotsford with his servants, and his dogs, and acting the carefree, considerate host to the constant stream of visitors; we see him in the family circle, whether in the days of his prosperity, or, his wife and money gone, his own health broken, still finding pleasure in simple joys and in the company of his grandchildren; we see him in the last days of failing health, but with his simple humanity and serene goodness unimpaired, so that when Lockhart brings before us the last scene of all, we feel the life has closed fittingly with the line from Homer, thus translated by Buchan, "There lay he, mighty and mightily fallen, having done with his chivalry." (174)

So far, the treatment has been almost entirely objective, but Lockhart also sets out to reveal to us Scott's opinions and character, the one so dependent on the other. These are, at certain points, indicated or discussed explicitly, while at others they are built up by inference. Though it is impossible to give a detailed list of these views and traits of character which contribute to the final effect, one must note certain features prominent in the biography. In his attitude to literature, we are conscious of Scott's early enthusiasm for poetry, but his forbearance at



interruption to his work, his modest estimate of his own literary achievement, compared with that of Byron, Wordsworth, and particularly Shakespeare, and his subordination of literary fame to the fame of men of action, as shown in his reverence for the Duke of Wellington. While there was on Scott's part no desire for public adulation - as he wrote to his son when about to retire to Abbotsford in 1821, after a period of "lionising" in London, "It is very well for a while, but to be kept at it makes one feel like a poodle dog compelled to stand for ever on his hind legs." (175) - he was appreciative of genuine admiration. Literature was for him most assuredly not the be-all and end-all of life, and few things were felt by him more sincerely than his protest to Lockhart against measuring things by literature. The quality of his human sympathy we see in all the spheres of life - his dutifulness as a son; his love of animals, especially horses and dogs; his tenderness and wisdom as a parent, discussed explicitly by Lockhart, and revealed later in his letters; his industry; his sympathy, without condescension, for the labouring poor, yet, such was his love of tradition, his opposition to legal reform; his romantic admiration for the genuine aristocracy, as seen in his perfect relations with the Duke of Buccleuch; his devotion to his King and country; his happy relations with contemporary men and women of letters. (176) Though genuinely religious, Scott was suspicious of "enthusiasm," and his religion shows best in his strong sense of duty, his freedom from grudge against those who have injured him, his unwillingness to sadden others by his own melancholy, and, in the last days, a lack of repining over the steady labour on a reduced diet, and in declining health. That there was in Scott's nature a more passionate element, which various influences combined to repress, we see in such remarks as that in a letter written by a friend in 1796 about Miss Belsches' wedding, "This is not good news. I always dreaded there was some self-deception on the part of our romantic friend, and I now shudder at the violence of his most irritable and ungovernable mind," (177) and his own confession in his Diary, Feb. 17th 1826,

"Convince my understanding, and I am perfectly docile; stir my passions by coldness or affronts, and the devil would not drive me from my purpose." Equally characteristic is the next sentence, "Let me record, I have striven against this besetting sin." (178) So convincingly has this portrait been built up, that we feel it is no empty panegyric when Lockhart pays his tribute to Scott as a "great and good man." (179)

Having examined Lockhart's material, his handling of it, and the light which he throws on Scott's life and character, we can form some idea of his achievement by a comparison with other works on the same subject. Robert Chambers's Life of Sir Walter Scott was written just after Scott's death, and as a narrative it is fairly satisfactory; but very seldom does the central figure come alive. The anecdote of the boyish composition of verses during a thunder-storm and Mrs. Scott's emotion later over them is one such occasion. (180) The picture of Scott's personal appearance, with details of his three commonest expressions, the thoughtful, the humorous, and the inspired, is another; (181) while a third is the final scene where the effect of Scott's funeral upon others lets us see something of the man who was passing. (182) The rareness of these touches of life lets us see that part of Lockhart's triumph was the re-creation of Scott's personality.

On the other hand, there are books which do not profess to give a complete outline of Scott's life. Such is James Hogg's The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott of 1834. In it he disclaims any attempt at documentation, on which he knows Lockhart to be engaged. Later, he maintains characteristically, "Whatever Lockhart may pretend, I knew Sir Walter a thousand times better than he did," (183) but at the beginning he thus expresses his modest intention, "The whole that I presume to do, is to give a few simple and personal anecdotes, which no man can give but myself. It is well known what Sir Walter was in his study, but these are to show what he was in the parlour, in his family, and among his acquaintances; and, in giving them, I shall in nothing extenuate,

or set down aught through partiality, and as for malice, that is out of the question." (184) That purpose Hogg in his little book fulfils, for he discusses how Scott's reverence for aristocracy was sung into him from the cradle, and gives us a vivid picture of Scott's admiration especially for Scott of Harden, singing at Bowhill, with one foot on the table, time and again, "Johnie Cope." (185) Scott's love of ballad-hunting comes out in his first meeting with old Mrs. Hogg in 1801, when she sang to him Auld Maitlan', complaining to Scott that in printing the ballads he had "spoilt them awthegither," and that now they would never be "sung mair." (186) Scott's reading of his own poems, too, is vividly described by James Hogg, who prefers his deep bass voice and Berwickshire burr to the voice of either William Erskine (Lord Kinneder), or of James Ballantyne. (187) Certain features of Scott's life and character stressed by Lockhart, such as his fine physical build which made life in the open a sheer joy to him, his tremendous memory, and his constant financial help to needy writers, are also brought out by Hogg; but a revealing little story of Mrs. Hogg's grief that only one of the Mount Benger children had been blessed by Scott is typical of the intimate quality of the book. (188) It will be noted, however, that it contains only one element of biographical material, and, such as it is, it confirms the picture Lockhart was later to draw.

The other book of approximately this period is R.P. Gillies's Recollections of Sir Walter Scott of 1837. The scope of the work is from Scott's early life to his death, but only with the early part is there a detailed discussion, though his literary productions and his connection with Constable and the Ballantynes is touched upon. Here it is interesting to note that Gillies's information is certainly not first-hand, as he mentions John Ballantyne as the originator of the publishing business, and later lays on Constable's shoulders the blame of Scott's financial ruin, only once suggesting that Scott was unconsciously imprudent about money. (189) Its weaknesses as a complete biography are that it is too disjointed to give an adequate view of Scott's life at different periods, and



that, while it is interesting to see Scott amongst his various friends - Leyden, Lewis, Lord Melville, and others - this tendency to write about others frequently leads to digression, so that we have passages about Dr. Adam of the High School, about German literature, and other subjects. (190) The most valuable part of the book is perhaps that used by Lockhart, describing a visit to Scott at Lasswade, (191) while, by a record of conversations and activities, we are led to understand those interests, sympathies, habits, and qualities of character which drew Gillies to Scott, and aroused his warm affection. In passing, it may be noted that Gillies confirms what Lockhart says on the same subject, "The leading characteristics of his conversation depended on his unaffected good humour, on the utter absence of any design to produce effect, either by witticisms or superiority of eloquence; for, in this respect, at a party of soi-disant wits, he was like a man who persists in wearing plain clothes, (or shall I say, dressing-gown and slippers?) whilst others are strutting in bag-wigs and gold-lace. He sought only relaxation and mirth whilst they were aiming at ostentatious display." (192)

A few interesting points will emerge by comparing Lockhart's Life of Scott with two modern books on the same subject. The first of these is John Buchan's Sir Walter Scott published in the Centenary year. While he is able to incorporate the material which, in the interval, has come to light about Scott's first love-affair, and while he adds a few more anecdotes, using Hogg's Domestic Manners of Sir Walter Scott, and is able to draw upon Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents of 1873, and Skene's Memories of Sir Walter Scott, posthumously published in 1909, fundamentally his life-narrative is that of Lockhart. (193) Only in a few minor points does he differ from Lockhart, for example, by adding from the Journal an incident of Scott's protection of a woman in distress, by following Thomas Constable in claiming that it was his father and not Scott who suggested for the Miscellany a Life of Napoleon, and by including from Skene the scene when Constable, calling at Castle Street, received from Scott a chilly reception, and the great

author, forgetful for once of his natural generosity, failed to realise the blow Constable also had received.(194) It is on the literary side that Buchan makes an original contribution; he includes an interesting discussion of Scott's solid grounds for secrecy about the authorship of the Waverley novels, in addition to his characteristic love of mystification.(195) He gives also independent criticisms of Scott's work, sometimes of imaginative and literary beauty by one who was himself an artist. This separate discussion of Scott's literary output, as distinct from their place in his life, is one of the chief differences between Lockhart and Buchan.

The other book which will be mentioned, H.J.C.Grierson's Sir Walter Scott Bart., is professedly a supplement to Lockhart, chiefly in the light of the additional information revealed by the publication of Scott's letters. The facts about Margaret Charlotte Charpentier's parents are now found to have been in part unknown to Lockhart, in part suppressed, and in part disguised.(196) On Scott's financial dealings and his other connections with his booksellers there is much more information than Lockhart could, or did, provide, while on some supplied by him a different construction is put.(197) On Scott's way of working there is also extra material. Both from the water-mark of certain manuscripts, and from the apparent impossibility that Scott could, in the time claimed by Lockhart, have produced all the works named in the biography, Professor Grierson suggests that the books did not follow in a smooth and regular succession, there being considerable overlapping; a book was promised, but between the promise and its fulfilment came composition in the early morning, correcting of proofs of its predecessor, and dreaming of the one in hand, and of others still to come.(198)

In this book there arises a question about Lockhart's biography which cannot pass unnoticed - his accuracy. The Life shows many signs of attempts at accuracy, for Lockhart's handling of the letters and Journal was deliberate manipulation, and not mistakes of fact

or interpretation; for example, he challenges as alien to Scott's character the story of an earlier biographer about his deception of his father during his legal apprenticeship, he is careful from the evidence at his disposal to calculate the exact date of the resumption of Waverley, and from his personal knowledge Lockhart is able to rectify the current story of the government action over Scott's position as Sheriff, thus clearing them of the charge of lack of courtesy. (199) On the other hand, Professor Grierson points out such inaccuracies of time as the date given in 1809 of Scott's reading of Byron's satire on himself, and the beginning and end of Scott's London visit in 1815. (200) Lockhart's story of the Bride of Lammermoor, A Legend of Montrose, and Ivanhoe being composed and dictated in 1819 when Scott was in agony he cannot accept as accurate, as in the National Library of Scotland there exists an autograph copy of the first-named, while George Huntly Gordon has claimed that the Legend of Montrose was transcribed from Scott's autograph (now to be found in part in Edinburgh University Library, and in part in the National Library of Scotland.) (201) After all, however, most of these are minor points, such as might have arisen during the course of Lockhart's great labours, and would not matter vitally to the biography as a whole.

On two sections of the Life, and those remembered by every reader of it, Lockhart's accuracy is, however, challenged - what is known as the Polton ride, and Scott's parting with Lockhart just before his death. As is well known, the elements in Lockhart's story are as follows - from London he passed on news that all was not well with Hurst & Robinson, and that Constable too was said to be insecure, then, after going to Chiefswood, he received a letter from his friend Wright with the rumour that Constable had thrown in his book; on his going to Abbotsford, he was surprised at Sir Walter's indifference, and equally so at his midnight ride to Polton, only to return to Chiefswood with reassurance. (202) Buchan is inclined to believe the story, despite its omission, natural enough in the circumstances, from Thomas Constable's Archibald



Constable and his Literary Correspondents, nor does the omission of Scott's visit under Nov. 7th in the diary of a student then living with Constable definitely prove anything. The conjunction of certain letters, however, does throw grave suspicion on Lockhart's story. By Nov. 11th Scott had left Abbotsford for Edinburgh, and on that date Constable wrote to him announcing his return to Polton on Nov. 7th from London; now this announcement would have been quite unnecessary had Scott undertaken his midnight ride on the day of Constable's return, and had already seen him. To this letter Scott replied on Nov. 18th. (204) On the same day he wrote to Lockhart at Chiefswood speaking of the first intimation of disaster, his uneasiness having caused him to visit Cadell, who assured him of the stability of Constable's firm. On the same day, too, Cadell wrote to Constable, telling him of Scott's visit because he had received a letter suggesting that Constable had thrown up his book, (205). This would seem to dispose entirely of the Polton ride, as it appears that Scott received only one warning, that by letter, and that it was to Cadell in Edinburgh, not to Constable that he went for reassurance.

The other passage Professor Grierson distrusts on evidence which seems almost equally decisive. The bedside scene he imagines to be a pious myth, suggested by a lady relative of Scott's who wrote, "When you write anything of the last very melancholy weeks at Abbotsford I think it will be most valuable to mention any of the few remarks he uttered when his mind was clear of a religious tendency such as I heard he said occasionally, Oh be virtuous! It is one's only comfort in a dying state! and anything of that kind, for there are wicked people who will take a pleasure in saying that he was not a religious man; and proving the contrary will do much good." Taken in conjunction with Mrs. Lockhart's letter saying that her father was in a stupor for the last forty hours, "his mind never returned for an instant," Professor Grierson regards this as proof of Lockhart's scene being without foundation. (206) Actually, what he describes is not incompatible with his wife's statement. The

scene is placed by him on the morning of Sept.17th, neither of Scott's two daughters being present, then he says that Scott relapsed into unconsciousness, only recovering consciousness for an instant when his sons arrived on the 19th. His death on Sept.21st would still leave time for the forty hours mentioned by Mrs.Lockhart, particularly because of the period of insensibility before his sons' arrival. (207) It is conceivable that Lockhart may have wished to produce a death-scene characteristic and beautiful, but the precedent of the Polton ride should not make us conclude on insufficient evidence that he did so.

One of the things which strikes the reader of Lockhart's Life of Scott is his attempt, despite their intimacy, to be impartial. Where Scott deserves blame, as in his rudeness to Lord Holland over the affair of his brother Thomas, Lockhart does not withhold his censure.(208) As he expressed it in a letter to William Laidlaw of Jan.19th 1837, printed in the Abbotsford Notanda added to a reprint of Chambers's Life of Scott, "A stern sense of duty - that kind of sense of it which is combined with the feeling of his actual presence in a serene state of elevation above all terrestrial and temporary views - will induce me to touch the few darker points in his life and character as freely as the others which were so predominant."(209) In consequence of this decision Lockhart found himself having to handle the problem of Scott's financial affairs, particularly those of 1813 and 1825, and of Scott's relations with those who were his business allies. In consequence, too, we find an outcry on the one hand from those who thought that Scott had been exonerated at the expense of the others, and from those who suggested that Lockhart, out of the malignity of his own nature, had betrayed the trust, and blackened the character of his father-in-law.

The attitude of the first group finds expression even today in Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's The Laird of Abbotsford. The writer claims that Scott was an astute business man who did everything with his eyes open, while the Ballantynes were only "his faithful and sometimes foolish servants."(210) At other points she has to admit

that Scott had the power of believing what he wished to believe, and to confess that Scott was kept in ignorance of the dealings between Constable and Robinson over Constable's Miscellany. Nevertheless, she regards Scott, not anyone else, as the author of his ruin, saying of Lockhart, "That he did less than justice to the Ballantynes was probably the outcome of his desire to burnish the shield of his paragon till it shone like the sun." (211) Her point of view found immediate expression in a pamphlet of 1838, so inscribed, "Refutation of the Mistatements and Calumnies contained in Mr. Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott Bart. respecting the Messrs Ballantyne - published by the Trustees and Son of the Late Mr. James Ballantyne." This at once brings us to what the writer on John Wilson Croker in the Quarterly Review calls, "the grave and delicate responsibility which the writer of one man's life incurs towards the reputation of many others." (212) There, this truth is stated, "The biographer must needs fill in his canvas with the figures of those amongst whom the subject of his memoir moved and acted; and his successive pictures must show them in various relations to the chief figure, in attitudes which truth may compel him to describe as friendly or hostile, generous or malevolent, noble or contemptible." How then does Lockhart treat those people whose business careers impinged on the financial fortunes of his subject, and how does he distribute the blame for the disaster which ensued?

First, there is Cadell. In him Lockhart recognized a staying and restraining influence, through him, with Lockhart's own collaboration, the debts were finally cleared from Scott's name and house, and for the financial details of the 1825 crisis Cadell was his authority. With these points in Cadell's favour, we find Lockhart exonerating him entirely in the Life. (213) Yet, it is evident from other sources that a measure of the blame was his, for, in the year 1823, Constable suggested to Scott the advisability of slowing down production, or of lying fallow in his novel-writing, and Cadell's was then the voice which spurred on the by-no-means unwilling novelist. (214) Thomas Constable suggests that the lack of cordiality



between the partners aggravated the financial situation of 1825-26, but that Cadell did not, as stated by Lockhart, advise Scott against guaranteeing the last £20,000 suggested by Constable.(215) Indeed, wherever we find references to Cadell in the Life, he is represented as the friend and sound adviser of Scott.

Secondly, there is Lockhart's allocation of blame to Constable. From the Journal, Lockhart omits entries under January 14th, 16th, 19th, and 26th, 1826, where Scott makes comments unfavourable to Constable, particularly the part of Jan. 19th, when Scott blames Constable for his strange infatuation, which kept him dallying after Dec. 24th when he meant to go to London within three days.(216) On the other hand, in the third volume of Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents, Thomas Constable enables us to see that the blame resting on his father had some extenuations. As early as 1822, letters show that Constable had suggested an edition of Shakespeare and a complete edition of the prose works as a relief from the novels.(217) By August 1823, Constable, to ease the financial burden on the firm, was suggesting a reduction of the transactions between himself and James Ballantyne & Co., with specific plans to that end; the suggestion to reduce the counter-bills we find being taken in good part by Scott. Letters between Constable and Cadell show their fears for the stability of Hurst, Robinson, & Co., Constable's determination to support the firm with Scott's assistance, and Scott's recognition of their need to keep together.(218) Indeed, what emerges is Constable's business ability, for, up till 1814, he had been universally successful; bills were first granted by Constable to save Scott from his earlier financial crisis over the publishing firm; when they began to increase, Constable wished to call them in, but Scott's protest on the impossibility of his doing so brought about the issue of counter-bills; finally, Constable's recognition of the value of Scott's copyrights was justified by the use made of them later by Cadell, and, but for the return by Hurst & Robinson of one of Constable's bills, his plans to raise securities with Scott's help might have averted disaster.(219) This material does not

appear at all in Lockhart, nor do a letter in January 1826 to Lockhart from Scott showing his admiration for Constable, and a letter to Constable from Lockhart in 1827 about the Life of Burns, a letter in which he recognizes the worth of Constable's character. (220) Instead, we find the Journal entry of 22nd July 1827, "I have no great reason to regret him; yet I do. If he deceived me, he also deceived himself," (221). As doubt has been cast on Lockhart's picture of a frenzied Constable in London at the time of the crisis, there appears to be some cause, in consideration of this additional information, for the claim that, to vindicate Scott, Lockhart unduly blamed not only the Ballantynes but Constable.

That Lockhart sincerely regretted Scott's association with the Ballantynes is obvious. In 1805, he refers to the various elements which, combined with the influence of James, "infected him with the proverbial rashness of mere mercantile adventure," and, after describing the growth of the connection he writes, "Hence, by degrees was woven a web of entanglement from which neither Ballantyne nor his adviser had any means of escape, except only in that indomitable spirit, the mainspring of personal industry altogether unparalleled, to which, thus set in motion, the world owes its most gigantic monument of literary genius." (222) Later in the Life, after giving his inimitable portraits of Aldiborontiphoscophornio and Rigdumfunnidos, portraits about which Cadell was to write, "I absolutely wept with joy at the Rembrandt portraits of John and James. I think I see the strut of James, and the wriggle of John, and dark was the day which brought the last into council," Lockhart says, "They both entertained him; they both loved and revered him; and I believe would have shed their heart's blood in his service; but they both, as men of affairs, deeply injured him - and above all, the day that brought John into pecuniary connexion with him was the blackest in his calendar." (223)

Instead of resenting alone the portraits of the Ballantynes, or stressing the fact that, if such were his associates, it reflected on Scott's own character, the Ballantyne Trustees set about

demolishing the case presented by Lockhart, by examining, and trying to show the inaccuracies of his statements. Amongst other points, and some specific discussion, they make certain accusations against Scott. For the failure of the publishing firm they blame Scott's unpromising literary adventures; they blame for the debts on the printing firm Scott's attempts to "endow a family" and show that from 15th May 1822 to 17th April 1823 two thirds of the profits were used by Scott, the printing firm having constantly to subsidise Scott's purchases of land; they point out the increase of personal liabilities between 1822 and 1826; they suggest that James Ballantyne was deceived into thinking that an unencumbered Abbotsford at least stood between them and disaster; finally, they suggest that without Scott, James Ballantyne made a success of his business, but with him he was involved in financial ruin.(224)

To this Lockhart felt impelled to reply, in a letter ostensibly to Sir Adam Ferguson, The Ballantyne Humbug Handled. In it, drawing on the Ashestiel Fragment, the "Open not, Read Not" volume of John Ballantyne, a Packet of States and Calendars in John Ballantyne's writing, coming to his hand, and Confidential letters between Scott and the Ballantynes,(225) he proceeds to answer some of the objections raised by the Ballantyne Trustees. He shows, for example, that James Ballantyne's extravagance caused Scott to buy him temporarily out of the business in order to be married, that accordingly Scott was for a period himself James Ballantyne & Co., and was therefore entitled to draw money from the firm for his own uses. He shows, too, that Scott gave James Ballantyne the chance, through his generosity, to pay off his debts, that Scott did not expect to have the bills to pay twice, and that his income from his books and other sources was adequate for his expenses.(226)

Both in the first and second of these pamphlets, and in the reply to Lockhart published by the Ballantynes in 1839 are masses of figures from the various accounts, but the main points in Lockhart's case can be discussed without following these in detail. While, as



Mr. Glen points out, in his introductory section to Scott's Letters, Lockhart was wrong in ascribing much of the debt to outstanding money from the publishing firm, and renewals, and was also wrong in thinking that the counter-bills were only for emergencies, since they were regularly discounted by Constable, he was right in suggesting that the finances of the Ballantynes were in a very confused state, since the ledger stops at 1823, and Scott must have been due a considerable sum. (227) On the one hand, we find Lockhart representing as James Ballantyne's guile the negotiations with Blackwood over Tales of My Landlord, negotiations which (228) Mrs. Oliphant suggests as probably due to Scott's effort to find an alternative publisher, Constable having had Waverley, and Longman Guy Mannering; on the other, we must admit that the business methods of the brothers were far from satisfactory. In the "Open Not, Read Not" letters which Lockhart knew, but reserved in the main, though he printed parts in the pamphlet already mentioned, we see Scott's business association from 1807 to 1818 with John Ballantyne. On him, we realise, lay much of the burden of meeting bills, as well as the provision of money or credit. Sometimes he has to detect inaccuracies in John Ballantyne's book-keeping. Against James he brings the charge of not hurrying forward the printing, thus keeping back the proofs, and the necessary payments. To James he complains of general mismanagement, a significant detail being the frequency with which Scott has to remind them that there is no Melrose post on Tuesday; he also has to complain of John's failure to honour his share of payment, of his not acknowledging drafts, nor warning Scott in time of bills falling due. (229) A characteristic letter of 21st July 1814 appeals to John to treat him like a man "and not like a milk-cow", while later he reminds John in the same letter, "You will do me the justice to remember that in your views of anticipated resources, I have always urged you to keep within the mark of just & moderate probability. I see no use in any other views except to mislead & perplex." (230) That Scott realised the unreliability of John Ballantyne is supported by James Hogg's

distinction, suggested by Scott himself, between the statements told by "leeing Johnny" and "true Johnny," "for they are two as different persons as exist on the face of the earth." (231)

To sum up, it would appear that any injustice which Lockhart may have done the brothers was due not to any careless inaccuracy, for he went for the information to one who presumably knew more of Scott's finances than anyone living, and he did his best to check his material; nor was it due to deliberate malice, though one could sympathise with his condemnation of those who contributed to the ruin of his beloved Scott, and who ultimately laid a burden of debt on Lockhart himself; it was rather a failure to sympathise with the extravagance and Bohemianism of the brothers, and to realise their real genius as companions in some of Scott's moods and enterprises.

Let us see now the degree to which Lockhart would make Scott himself responsible for his own ruin. That other writers laid some of the blame on him can be seen from three people who discuss the matter. Mrs. Oliphant, in William Blackwood and His Sons, claims that someone like Blackwood was necessary to act as a restraining influence. "A man to whom nothing is impossible, who only buckles to his work more bravely when it is most crushing, and does not know what it is to fail in courage or in strength, is apt to demoralise all about him." (232) John Buchan, while saying that Scott was perfectly entitled to invest his money in the printing-business, holds that it was not dishonourable, only ill-advised, because insufficient supervision could be given to it, and the element of secrecy excluded common-sense. The venture of the publishing firm of 1809 he condemns, however, because, begun in a not very justifiable rupture with Constable, it widened the scope of Scott's liabilities, and not one of the partners really understood the system of bills and counter-bills. The result, he says was bound to be ruin. (233) One of Sir Herbert Grierson's points is that the element of secrecy, which involved Scott in having as his advisers people who were dependent on him and would

therefore be ultimately overborne by him, arose out of his own desire not to hurt people by opposing them.(234)

What does Lockhart suggest as his point of view? First of all, there is no attempt to conceal the fact that Scott in part blamed himself for the catastrophe. Indeed, the letter to himself in which Scott says of James Ballantyne, "I owe it to him to say that his difficulties are owing to me - to be sure so are his advantages which will greatly predominate," Lockhart changes to "I owe it to him to say that his difficulties as well as his advantages are owing to me."(235) On the other hand, his boundless optimism before the event is obscured by his remark in the Journal about being able to pay at least 40/- in the £1, being changed to the more moderate 20/- in the £1.(236) While Scott, so Lockhart shows, understood in general the financial position - his letters about Terry's affairs in 1825 refer with disapproval to the process of discounting bills and long credit, "It is easy to make it feasible on paper, but the times of payment arrive to a certainty," and again with regard to raising money, "if by bills and discounts, I beg to say I must decline having to do with the business at all; for, besides the immense expense of renewals, that mode of raising money is always liable to some sudden check, which throws you on your back at once,"(237) show how well he recognized the dangers - at the same time, his own statements show that he found difficulty in comprehending details; these details the Ballantyne system of book-keeping would make still more involved, so that at any time it was difficult for Scott to tell his exact financial position. The final palliation is, however, that also adopted by John Buchan and Sir Herbert Grierson, the blending of romance and practicality in Scott's own character, which made him regard money as fairy gold that would enable him to live out the romance of being a border chieftain. As Lockhart so beautifully expressed it, "We should try to picture to ourselves what the actual intellectual life must have been of the author of such a series of romances. We should ask ourselves whether, filling and discharging so soberly and gracefully as he did the



common functions of social man, it was not, neverthe-less, impossible that he must have passed most of his life in other worlds than ours; and we ought hardly to think it a grievous circumstance that their bright visions should have left a dazzle sometimes on the eyes which he so gently reopened upon our prosaic realities.(238)

In view of what has already been said, it seems extraordinary that anyone should have charged Lockhart with unfairness to Scott's memory, yet even while the book was coming from the press objections were raised against his so-called revelations about some hitherto unguessed aspects of Scott's life and character. That Carlyle heartily approved of his telling the whole truth can be seen in his London and Westminster Review article of 1837. "How delicate, decent is English biography, bless its mealy mouth," he writes, and "For our part, we hope all manner of biographies that are written in England will henceforth be written so."(239)

In addition, however, to the recurrent objections to finding in a popular hero any human weaknesses, in Lockhart's case there were special reasons for his being suspected of malignity. He had the aloofness of one sensitive to his own slight deafness, and the reserve of one who had suffered intellectual loneliness. Then had come his association with the other gay spirits writing for Blackwood, and in the "Chaldee MS." he and his friends had drawn upon themselves the fury of certain literary contemporaries. Lockhart's own portrait of "the Scorpion who delighteth to sting the faces of men" seemed only too appropriate.(240) Despite his generous appreciation of the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, his attacks on the "Cockney School," whatever be the verdict as to his authorship of the article attacking Keats, and later the article on Tennyson's 1832 Volume to which Nicolson attributes such devastating effects, did not add to his reputation for amiability. In a letter from Scott to Lockhart in 1820, we find him reproving his young friend for his participation in the Blackwood broils, "Revere yourself, my dear boy, and think you were born to do your country better service than in this species of warfare."(241)

In December of that year, there appeared in Baldwin's Magazine an attack by John Scott upon Lockhart, assailing him for the mystifications which his work involved. The details of the quarrel thus begun have been told in Lang's Life of Lockhart. (242) The main point is that the subsequent misunderstandings led to Lockhart's second, his friend Christie, challenging John Scott, with fatal consequences to the latter. While Sir Walter Scott, who knew all the facts, and would have been the last to forgive any fault of honour, never for a moment suspected Lockhart of malice or of cowardice, the fact remains that the general tone of the Blackwood articles was the direct cause of the tragedy. Gilchrist, in his Life of William Blake, spoke only like many others when he referred to Editor Scott, and "his tragic end in a preposterous duel with one of the rancorous Blackwood set." (243) Whatever may have been the bonds of gratitude linking Lockhart to Blackwood, public opinion was against him in this matter. Scott himself recognized that Lockhart did not show at his best with those who saw only his exterior, and wrote in the Journal on Nov. 28th 1825, "This reserve, and a sort of Hidalgo<sup>air</sup> joined to his character as a satirist, have done the best-humoured fellow in the world some injury in the opinion of Edinburgh folks." (244)

With such a reputation, there would seem little likelihood of Lockhart's being able properly to appreciate Sir Walter Scott, though it may have been that Lockhart's devotion was all the greater because he found in Scott some of the qualities he himself lacked. While there seemed, superficially, little kinship between the free, genial, robust temperament of Scott and Lockhart's reserved, satiric, fastidious spirit, they were united, amongst other things, by their enthusiasm for literature, their love of Scotland, Lockhart's reverence for Scott, and Scott's power to penetrate below the cold exterior to the warm, even sensitive heart. With one exception, Lockhart retained throughout life his early friends; with children and old people his concealed tenderness of heart showed forth; in the face of all his worries over his son Walter he never lost

temper, dignity, or affection; his unusually beautiful relationship with his daughter Charlotte was altered not a whit by her marriage, or her conversion to Catholicism with her husband Mr. Hope.

(245) In scores of ways, he showed his kindness and consideration for others. A few examples will serve to show the value placed upon Lockhart by those who really knew him. In recommending him to the care of Mrs. Hughes, when he went to London, Scott wrote,

"I know you will love and understand him, but he is not easy to be known or to be appreciated as he so well deserves, at first; he shrinks at a first touch; but take a good hard hammer (it need not be sledge one) break the shell, and the kernel will repay you. Under a cold exterior Lockhart conceals the warmest affections, and where he once professes regard he never changes." (246)

In the year before Scott's death, we find Mrs. Lockhart writing, "I used to think it was both selfish and wrong my marrying, but when I hear papa talk of you, dear Lockhart, I feel I can never be grateful enough to you." (247)

Such comments as Carlyle made showed his appreciation not only of Lockhart's intelligence, but of his affection, while G.R. Gleig, writing in the Quarterly in 1864, admitting the "crust of reserve with which on common occasions he was apt to surround himself," added, "Those who knew him best loved him best, - a sure proof that he was deserving of their love." (248)

Unlike Boswell, Lockhart in his Life of Scott rigidly subordinated himself to the figure he wished to portray, so that one can hardly, from it, tell what manner of man he was. On one of the few occasions on which he permits himself to express his feelings, we catch a glimpse of a heart capable of warm affection - writing of the group once meeting at Abbotsford, Chiefswood, and Huntly Burn, he says, "Death has laid a heavy hand upon that circle - as happy a circle I believe as ever met. Bright eyes now closed in dust, gay voices for ever silenced seem to haunt me as I write;" then comes a tribute to his wife, Sophia, "But enough - and more than I intended - I must resume the story of Abbotsford." (249)

Having disposed of the insinuation that Lockhart was constitut-



ionally incapable of portraying the character of Scott sympathetically, we must devote a few last words to the question whether, all things considered, the Life of Scott is still a compilation. A few parts of his material, admittedly, might with profit have been omitted, but where such wealth existed who could blame him for using rather more of it than was strictly necessary? Certain qualities of artistry - the clear, flowing narrative, the convincing stamp of life in the central figure, the welding of material and connecting narrative, and the beauty of certain aspects and passages, give to this biography its place as one of the three greatest in the English language.

- (1) Hildyard, 52-4, 129-30, 41-2, 160-3. (2) Quarterly Vol., 116, 461.
- (3) Lockhart Peter I, 3-11, 25-33, 156-85, II, 324-8, III, 289-90.
- (4) Lockhart Peter III, 301-36. (5) Lockhart Peter I, 125-8, 156-61, II, 125-42, 212-3. (6) Lockhart Peter I, 203-9. (7) Lockhart Peter III, 266-74, I, 68-70, 94, 96. (8) Lockhart Peter I, 41, 174-6, III, 22-6.
- (9) Lockhart Peter II, 59-63, I, 129-33, II, 174-6, III, 102-3, 181-93.
- (10) Lockhart Peter III, 134-7. (11) Lockhart Peter I, 118-9.
- (12) Lockhart Peter II, 302. (13) Lockhart Peter II, 304-9.
- (14) Lockhart Peter II, 314-23, 347-61. (15) Lockhart Peter II, 314.
- (16) Lockhart Burns, vii. (17) Lockhart Burns, 28, 109, 90-2, 161, 240-3, 269-70. (18) Lockhart Burns, 137-9, 142, 187-8. (19) Lockhart Burns, 29.
- (20) Lockhart Burns, 105-9, 122-3, 124-6. (21) Lockhart Burns, 273-8.
- (22) Lockhart Burns, 208-30. (23) Lockhart Burns, 147, 148.
- (24) Lockhart Burns, 63-86. (25) Lockhart Burns, 55-69.
- (26) Lockhart Burns, 115-6, 118-20. (27) Lockhart Burns, 210-2.
- (28) Lockhart Burns, 130-4, 148-50. (29) Lockhart Burns, 169-80,
- (30) Lockhart Burns, 235-40. (31) Lockhart Burns, 256.
- (32) Quarterly Vol. 72, 105. (33) Quarterly Vol. 72, 61. (34) Quarterly Vol. 72, 62-3, 65-6. (35) Quarterly Vol. 72, 69-103. (36) Quarterly Vol. 72, 81. (37) Quarterly Vol. 72, 83-6. (38) Quarterly Vol. 72, 107.
- (39) Partington Letter-Books, v-x. Partington Post-Bag v-xiv.
- (40) London VI, 298. (41) Chambers, 192. (42) Gillies, 89-90.

- (43) Lockhart IV, 150-1. (44) Lockhart Abr., 558. (45) Scott Letters XII, 94-154. (46) Scott Letters I, x. (47) Sands, 18, Scott Letters XII, 49-93. (48) Scott Letters XII, 85. (49) Scott Letters XII, 94-116. (50) Scott Letters XII, 117-33. (51) Constable III, 377-80. (52) Sands, 3. (53) Sands, 23-4. (54) Sands, 24-5, 9. (55) Sands, 34. (56) Partington Letter-Books, 139, Scott Letters IX, 286-7, Sands, 134-5. (57) Sands, 44-6. (58) Sands, 50-117. (59) Lockhart I, 69-71. (60) Lockhart II, 333-6, III, 31-2. (61) Lockhart II, 24-7, 116-9. (62) Lockhart II, 315-8. (63) Lockhart III, 136-277. (64) Lockhart VI, 123. (65) Lockhart VI, 123-212, 227-64, 275f. (66) Lockhart VII, 341. (67) Lockhart I, 344-6, 401, II, 382-8. (68) Lockhart II, 142-3, VII, 26-8. (69) Lockhart I, 240-2, 277-84. (70) Lockhart I, 154, 157, 166-73, 188, 219, 237. (71) Lockhart I, 332f., II, 3, 6, 14f., III, 6, 34. (72) Lockhart II, 27, 128, 136, 175, 231, III, 4, 24, 303. (73) Lockhart III, 283f. (74) Lockhart V, 229f. (75) Lockhart IV, 289f., VI, 5f. (76) Lockhart IV, 52-107. (77) Lockhart VII, 146-56. (78) Lockhart VII, 305-7. (79) Lockhart I, 86-8. (80) Lockhart I, 106-115. (81) Lockhart I, 195-200. (82) Lockhart I, 259-60. (83) Lockhart I, 359-63. (84) Lockhart I, 402-3. (85) Lockhart II, 61-70. (86) Lockhart II, 183-8, 244-7. (87) Lockhart V, 298. (88) Lockhart VI, 313-7. (89) Lockhart VII, 52-9, 300-2. (90) Lockhart VII, 17-20, 265-7. (91) Lockhart VII, 329f. (92) Lockhart III, 345. (93) Lockhart VI, 177-8. (94) Lockhart IV, 144-68. (95) Lockhart IV, 184-204. (96) Lockhart IV, 259-67. (97) Lockhart IV, 349-55, V, 1-17. (98) Lockhart V, 74-6. (99) Lockhart V, 123-6. (100) Lockhart VI, 28-32. (101) Lockhart VI, 104-7, 174-7. (102) Lockhart VII, 45-6. (103) Lockhart VII, 281-4, 285-8. (104) Lockhart VII, 385-94. (105) Lockhart I, 83. (106) Lockhart II, 248. (107) Lockhart VII, 362. (108) Lockhart IV, 155. (109) Lockhart V, 295. (110) Lockhart V, 98-102, 376-8, VII, 55. (111) Lockhart Lang II, 298-9. (112) Lockhart Abr., 134, 276, 562. (113) Lockhart Abr., 312. (114) Lockhart Abr., 606-13, 615-9, 633-42. (115) Lockhart Abr., 527-9, Lockhart V, 234-52.

- (116) Lockhart Abr., 344-8, Lockhart III, 391-9. (117) Lockhart Abr., 511-7. (118) Lockhart Abr., 298, 800-7. (119) Lockhart Abr., 95, 172-9, 255-8, 432-8, 596-7, 704. (120) Lockhart Abr., 541-7.
- (121) Lockhart Abr., 770-80. (122) Lockhart I, 331, III, 34-6, Scott Letters I, 110f., XII, 175f. (123) Scott Letters I, 96-8.
- (124) Scott Letters I, 144, 242, (125) Scott Letters IV, 402, 541, V, 2, I, 385, 388, 400, IV, 231, 242, 427, V, 16, 39, 69-73.
- (126) Scott Letters IV, 74, XI, 96, XII, 493-520. (127) Partington Post-Bag, 339-92. (128) Partington Letter-Books, 321-44.
- (129) Scott Letters I, 249, 254, 266, II, 199f., 485f., III, 162f. (130) Lockhart III, 16, Scott Letters III, 169. (131) Partington Post-Bag, 47, Partington Letter-Books, 37-8, Scott Letters II, 188, III, 399. (132) Scott Letters II, 188, V, 407, I, 271, II, 232, IX, 26, XII, 441. (133) Cf. Lockhart II, 118, 265, Scott Letters XII, 493.
- (134) Scott Letters II, 462, VI, 381, I, 301-2. (135) Scott Letters I, 30, 11. (136) Scott Letters III, 348. (137) Lockhart III, 35.
- (138) Lockhart I, 154-5, Scott Letters I, 9-10. (139) Lockhart I, 219, Scott Letters I, 34. (140) Lockhart I, 219-22, Scott Letters I, 34-6.
- (140) Nineteenth, 383 (141) Lockhart II, 206-13, Scott Letters II, 100-9. (142) Lockhart III, 69-70, Scott Letters I, 432-4. (143) Oliphant I, 69-75, Lockhart IV, 20-31, (144) Lockhart Mac., III, 70-3.
- (145) Scott Letters IV, 276-7. (146) Lockhart III, 34-42. (147) Lockhart IV, 44, VII, 240-1. (148) Dunn, 247n. (149) Tait Tenth, 1-11. (150) Scott Tait I, 31, Lockhart VI, 149.
- (151) Scott Tait I, 96, Lockhart VI, 212, (152) Scott Tait I, 12, 13, Lockhart VI, 133-4. (153) Scott Tait I, 12, Lockhart VI, 124, Scott Doug., I, 14. (154) Scott Tait I, 174, Lockhart VI, 306.
- (155) Scott Tait I, 96-7, 177, Lockhart VI, 306. (156) Scott Tait I, 210-211, Lockhart VI, 333-4. (157) Scott Tait I, 82-3, Lockhart VI, 202-3. (158) Scott Tait I, 101, Lockhart VI, 233. (159) Scott Tait I, 91-2, Lockhart VI, 209-10. (160) Scott Tait I, 28-9, Lockhart VI, 145-6.
- (161) Scott Tait I, 29, Lockhart VI, 146-7. (162) Scott Tait I, 118-9, Lockhart VI, 250. (163) Scott Tait I, 136-8, Lockhart VI, 276.
- (164) Scott Doug., II, 340, Lockhart VII, 257.



- (165) Scott Doug., II, 427, Lockhart VII, 341. (166) Scott Phot. I, 41-4.  
 (167) Scott Doug. I, 62-7, Scott Tait I, 45-50, Lockhart VI, 163-7.  
 (168) Lockhart II, 290-308. (169) Lockhart VII, 45-82.  
 (170-) Lockhart I, 185-6, 317, II, 102, IV, 360, 377.  
 (171) Lockhart I, 266, 284, 285, 289, II, 3, III, 1, II, 188f.  
 (172) Lockhart I, 140-3, 195-200, 229, III, 8-9, 316-7.  
 (173) Lockhart III, 55-80. (174) Lockhart VII, 393-4., Buchan, 334.  
 (175) Lockhart V, 56. (176) Lockhart I, 144, II, 188-92, III, 378,  
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 (181) Chambers, 98-9. (182) Chambers, 94-7. (183) Hogg, 121.  
 (184) Hogg, 59. (185) Hogg, 72-5. (186) Hogg, 60-1. (187) Hogg, 95.  
 (188) Hogg, 99-100. (189) Gillies, 139, 222, 250-1.  
 (190) Gillies, 36-8, 64-72. (191) Gillies, 89-119. (192) Gillies, 89-90.  
 (193) Buchan, 52-3, 63, 88, 220-1, 278-91. (194) Buchan, 319-20, 271, 287-8.  
 (195) Buchan, 122-4. (196) Grierson, 46-53. (197) Grierson, 131-49.  
 (198) Grierson, 176-7. (199) Lockhart I, 144, III, 124-7, VII, 392.  
 (200) Grierson, 100-1, 126n. (201) Grierson, 173-4. (202) Lockhart  
 VI, 102-7. (203) Buchan, 280. (204) Grierson, 253, Scott Letters IX,  
 279, 293n. (205) Constable III, 378-9, Scott Letters IX, 291-5.  
 (206) Grierson 299-300. (207) Lockhart VII, 393-4. (208) Lockhart  
 II, 286. (209) Chambers, 192. (210) Hennessy, 190. (211) Hennessy, 259,  
 245-6. (212) Quarterly Vol. 142, 83-4. (213) Lang II, 100, 114, 132-3.  
 (214) Constable III, 239. (215) Constable III, 42-7, 430-1.  
 (216) Scott Tait I, 68, 69-70, 71-2, 81. (217) Constable III, 183-5.  
 (218) Constable III, 273-7. (219) Constable III, 18-20, 123, 397-408.  
 (220) Scott Letters IX, 371, Constable III, 440. (221) Lockhart VII, 49.  
 (222) Lockhart II, 42, 43. (223) Lang II, 139, Lockhart II, 197-8.  
 (224) Refutation (Now transferred from National Library of Scotland.)  
 (225) Lockhart Humbug, 10. (226) Lockhart Humbug, 40-50, 76-7, 103, 114.  
 (227) Scott Letters I, lxxxvi, xci-xcii. (228) Oliphant I, 56.  
 (229) Scott Letters I, 427-50. (230) Scott Letters I, 455, 456.  
 (231) Hogg, 112. (232) Oliphant I, 27. (233) Buchan, 98.  
 (234) Grierson, 87, 160. (235) Lockhart VI, 217, Scott Letters IX, 371.  
 (236) Scott Tait I, 8, Lockhart VI, 130. (237) Lockhart VI, 22, 25.

- (238) Lockhart VI,120. (239) London VI,299,300. (240) Lang I,157-162. (241) Lang I,147,197-9, II,87, Scott Letters VI,243. (242) Lang I,250-83. (243) Gilchrist,279. (244) Scott Tait I,21. (245) Lockhart II,178,203,291,313,349,356. (246) Lang I,374. (247) Lang II,70. (248) Quarterly Vol.116,480. (249) Lockhart V,125.

## Materia Biographica.

Letter Material - Hayley's Life of Cowper; Aikin's Life of Addison; Stanley's Life of Arnold; Houghton's Life of Keats; Mrs. Gaskell's Life of Charlotte Brontë. Letters and Journals - Moore's Life of Byron; Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay; Cross's Life of George Eliot. Letters, Journals, and other Material - Prior's Life of Burke; Prior's Life of Goldsmith; Forster's Life of Goldsmith; E.V. Lucas's Life of Charles Lamb.

The greatness of Lockhart's achievement can be measured only by a consideration of the other biographies produced in the 19th century. Out of the enormous number of these, it is possible to distinguish certain types, and only when we see the fulness of Lockhart's treatment, the balance of his finished production, and the subordination of the parts, can we recognize the value of his Life of Scott.

The first of the types is that in which epistolary material greatly outweighs anything else, and into this group falls Hayley's Life of Cowper, 1803. He gives first a short survey of Cowper's life, in which, however, there is no mention of such a material fact as the date when he left the house of Mr. Chapman to go to the Inner Temple, and in which, after describing the effect on Cowper of his nomination as Clerk of the private Committees in the House of Lords, he says that the topic of Cowper's insanity is one of such "aweful delicacy" that the biographer should sink "in tender silence." (1) At the point when Cowper has settled in Huntingdon, with the family of his friend William Cawthorne Unwin, the letters begin, and from that time the material of Cowper's letters far outweighs any other element. At intervals poems are enclosed, or a short break occurs to describe the genesis of, and quote from, Cowper's poetry. Often, however, there is a long unbroken series of letters. One of these is from Nov. 26th 1786 to May 23rd 1791, to Lady Hesketh, (at this



time the most regular recipient of his letters) to Joseph Hill, throughout a regular correspondent, and to other friends and relations, Mrs. Throckmorton, his cousin Mrs. Bodham, and Mr. John Johnson. (2)

These are characteristic in their love of nature, their occasional melancholy and religious tone, their references to ill-health, to his reading, criticisms being given of individual books such as Boswell's Tour, to his mild social activities, and to the impressions made on him by public events like the trial of Warren Hastings.

Another long section of letters is the eighty-seven, after William Hayley had become his friend, covering the period March 6th 1791 to Oct. 18th 1793. (3)

While no Life of Cowper could be dull, if it were composed largely of his letters, the first point one recognizes is that such charm as the book possesses comes from the revelation of Cowper's character drawn directly from the letters, instead of from Hayley's handling of these. Even so, more selection would have improved the book, for, as Lytton Strachey remarks in Characters and Commentaries of the letters of Cowper, "Their gold is absolutely pure; but it is beaten out into the thinnest leaf conceivable." (4) That there is no artistic unity, apart from that imposed by the chronology of the letters and the poems inserted at the proper time, can be seen from the printing in the third volume of a hundred and fifty-one letters, mostly to the Rev. William Unwin, or the Rev. John Newton, followed by undated letters. (5) These letters not only cover the period from which letters have already been drawn, but, like the dozen letters of Cowper's early life which follow them, they touch on exactly the same topics as appear most frequently in the body of the Life.

Lastly, there is the point of view of Hayley. In his discussion of the letters in the last volume, he expressly states that he has omitted those dealing with the disturbance in harmony between Mrs. Unwin and Lady Austen, as his conscience will not have him include anything which Cowper, could he speak from the tomb, would direct him to suppress. (6) Combined with this unnecessary reticence, is a lamentable strain of panegyric, which Cowper's life certainly

did not require. It is seldom indeed that he makes such a moderate claim for the poet as that he had "all the requisites to conciliate affection and to inspire respect."(7) While Miss Seward's outburst to Scott in 1806, referring to "editorial dotage...everywhere prevalent. Such sugar and treacle praise!! such lavish iteration of applausive epithets!!!"(8) is extreme, one cannot but regret the tone of a biography of which this is a typical quotation, "He is not only great in passages of pathos, and sublimity, but he is equally admirable in wit and humour. After descanting most copiously on sacred subjects with the animation of a Prophet, and the simplicity of an Apostle, he paints the ludicrous characters of common life with the comic force of Molière."(9)

A second biography written largely from letters is Miss Lucy Aikin's Life of Joseph Addison, 1843. There is the narrative of Addison's public appointments, and a small number of anecdotes. Along with these, Miss Aikin uses from 1699, when Addison on going abroad sends to Charles Montague, Lord Halifax, his first letter, Addison's correspondence made available by Mr. Edward Tickell. She also employs a number of letters taken from original papers of James Macpherson, and those to be found in the British Museum.(10) The main purpose of her biography seems to have been to secure for Addison adequate appreciation, hence, on various occasions, her refutation of stories told by other biographers, particularly Johnson, whom she suggests to have been biased.(11) From the Tickell papers she finds no evidence of Addison's having put an execution into his friend's house, and, from the contradictions between the various stories, one of which puts the debt of Steele at £1,000, she assumes it to be without foundation.(12) In this instance, however, she does not appear to have proved her case, for Macaulay shows that the story was told by Steele to Savage, who told it to Johnson, and the review of Miss Aikin's Life of Addison indicates the extent of the provocation which Addison received.(13) More interesting than a merely negative defence is where she is able to provide evidence on a disputed incident in Addison's life.

For the quarrel with Pope over Tickell's translation of the Iliad, she is able, from Spence's Anecdotes, to bring out the contradictory nature of Pope's accusations. She also prints a hitherto unpublished letter to Craggs, in which one sees Pope's venom, and all the charges incorporated in the Atticus portrait, which yet did not lead to an open breach. By showing that Wycherley was still alive at the time the Atticus portrait was penned, she shows that it could not have been provoked by the hiring of Gildon to abuse Pope's parents in his Life of Wycherley.(14)

In this biography, the lack of selection which Macaulay condemned is not limited to the long unrepresentative extracts describing Addison's travels, extracts which were condensed by Macaulay into a rapid and easy narrative. It is to be found in the too numerous letters to Tonson about his literary activities at Oxford, and in the outlines of the career and character of people like Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, and the Earl of Wharton.(15) Sometimes the letters are printed entire, where only one point is of interest, and relevant to the Life. Its other chief weakness as a biography is its failure to give a living portrait of Addison. She denies the charges brought against him, gives a eulogy of his literary gifts, and makes him the paragon of all the virtues. Macaulay, whose character had some affinities with that of Addison, called by Bonamy Dobrée "the first of the Victorians," was to write thus, "But after full inquiry and impartial reflection, we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can be justly claimed by any of our infirm and erring race.....Men may easily be named, in whom some particular good disposition has been more conspicuous than Addison. But the just harmony of qualities, the exact temper between the stern and the humane virtues, the habitual observance of every law, not only of moral rectitude, but of moral grace and dignity, distinguish him from all the men who have been tried by equally strong temptations, and about whose conduct we possess equally full information."(16) With all this no doubt Miss Aikin would have agreed; nevertheless, when she comes to examples, his acts of kindness



to Philips, Budgell, Tickell, and Steele, and his loyalty to Swift in the face of opposition are not made vivid enough to be convincing. His political and religious views, too, are depicted without enthusiasm, so that in the end Addison is hardly more real than he becomes through a careful perusal of his essays.

The difficulty in selecting from the epistolary material available, and the artistic welding of it with the rest of the work can also be judged from The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold by A.P. Stanley, appearing in 1844. Although certain letters were not at his command, although others on a specific subject were omitted to make room for those of more general interest, and although, as Stanley tells us in the Preface, cuts were made to avoid repetition, to save the feelings of living persons, to reduce the domestic details which would infringe on privacy, and to bring to a minimum passages of explanation, (17) we feel that a still more rigid selection might have been practised. In the chapter, "Life at Laleham," for example, the narrative is broken by long extracts involving repetition of views later expressed more clearly on Christianity, the state of the country, and the interpretation of Scripture. (18) The answer to Mr. Smith about his criticism of Arnold's pamphlet on Church Reform might well have been omitted, as the recipient is unknown, the reply is too detailed, and he supports his contention with arguments used elsewhere. (19)

The artistry of the book can be gauged in part by the arrangement - narrative passages dealing with the life of Arnold up to his Rugby appointment, then the first group of twenty-seven letters, two chapters on the Rugby period, then a continuation of the letters, with very brief breaks at certain points, Arnold's last days, with diary extracts, then four appendices, Appendix D giving his travelling journals for the tours in Italy, Scotland, France, Germany, and Switzerland from the years 1825 to 1841. Significant, too, is the fact that the journal for July 20th 1839, in which he describes the torture chambers of the Pope's palace at Avignon, covers ground of a letter from Rugby, Sept. 9th 1839, to Sir T. Pasley,

printed in the body of the book.(20) From these journal extracts, too, much of the life is taken by the way in which the excerpts are made.

Yet, almost in spite of himself, Dean Stanley gives us a picture of Dr. Arnold. At one point, we are made to see him in his study at Rugby, with his children coming and going, and friends, whose visits were not regarded as an interruption to work, dropping in from time to time.(21) Arnold's happy relations with his children, his love of walks with them, his fondness for family worship, and finally his enjoyment of the family holidays at Fox How, with their rest, beauty, and change of occupation, are also brought out.(22) Another vivid picture lets us see him as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.(23) An occasional letter also, such as that to his former pupil, J.P. Gell in Van Diemen's Land, gives a human picture of him at a little table, like those of the Sixth, and writing with light insufficient to show his increased number of grey hairs.(24) It is in the main, however, the forceful nature of Arnold's own character which gives life to the letters. His strong views on education, particularly religious education, are characteristic, and we feel through the letters his burning convictions; Arnold revealed himself so clearly, and his mind and sympathy were called out on so many occasions, that the impression left is that we need little but the letters to judge of the man.

Lord Houghton's Life and Letters of John Keats is another biography in which the writer has not entirely made his own the material in letter-form which constitutes such a large proportion of the book. Here the absence of anything but the slightest links in the early part of the Life makes it difficult to recognize as individual people such recipients of the letters as Reynolds, Dilke, and Taylor. Exceptions such as Brown, and Keats's brother George, show how easily the value of his letters as biographical material could have been increased. In selecting the letters, Lord Houghton fails to give biographic continuity. His caution over the introduction of living people, or people whose descendants were still alive, names

being frequently indicated by lines, also reduces the value of the work.(25) In particular, his reticence over Keats's love affair, a reticence which makes unnatural the letters referring to it after the poet left England, is to be regretted.

Nevertheless, apart from the publication of letters which some have placed in the first rank, the Life of Keats has certain definite virtues. It provides the background against which Keats's poetic productions were written, for example his Ode to Autumn at Winchester.(26) It provides, though without selection, material for reviewing Keats's poetic and personal qualities - his passion for poetry which made him write, "I look upon fine phrases like a lover," his love of beauty which made him say, "I feel assured I should write from the mere yearning and fondness I have for the beautiful, even if my night's labours should be burnt every morning, and no eye ever shine upon them,"(27) his affection for his friends, his independence of judgment and of character, and, surprisingly, his whimsical humour.(28) Where the biographer does enter, in his proper person, we have sections of interest and of value, such as his denial of Keats's death as being due to the reviews of Endymion, and his final summing up of Keats's position as a poet.(29)

Mrs.Gaskell's Life of Charlotte Brontë is another example of biography based principally upon letters. Letters are not the sole material, for the woman who knew and nursed Mrs.Brontë during her fatal illness, supplies a vivid picture of the childhood of the Brontës, (30) and for Charlotte Brontë as she appeared to a school-companion at Roe Head in 1831 there is the impression of her friend "Mary."(31) Charlotte Brontë's catalogue of her books in Aug.3rd 1830 is printed, along with samples of her early work, to show how early she was seized by the rage for literary composition.(32) Other documents illustrate different parts of her life, and some of her biographical prefaces are used both for the literary and domestic parts of her life. The fact remains, however, that the greatest amount of material is epistolary. From 1832, we have a series of letters, from which Mrs.Gaskell constantly draws, to her friend Ellen Nussey, and,



to supplement these, for, curiously enough, she did not make that friend a confidant of her literary activities, there is the series of letters beginning with those to and from Southey, continuing in those to Messrs. Aylott & Jones, and in such letters as those to Mr. Smith, G.H. Lewes, and Sydney Dobell, we find her writing to people who became first literary acquaintances, then personal friends. (33)

It is a feature of the book that Mrs. Gaskell tries to give us everything which will throw light on Charlotte Brontë as a writer. That is one reason for the very full treatment of the background of her life at Haworth, and Brussels. (34) It also explains the sections devoted to people who were to appear in any way in her books. As a person, Charlotte Brontë is depicted more as a pathetic figure for whom Mrs. Gaskell wishes to enlist our sympathy than in any other light. It is not often that there comes the note of a letter to Ellen Nussey of April 2nd 1845, wherein she deals with the possibility of her friend's being accused of husband-hunting, "do not condemn yourself to live only by halves, because if you showed too much animation some pragmatical thing in breeches might take it into his pate to imagine that you designed to dedicate your life to his inanity." (35) Because her home life meant so much to Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Gaskell feels it necessary to give full pictures of the Rev. Patrick Brontë, of her sisters, and, against her will, it would seem, of Branwell.

Here we come to a last feature of the Life, its obvious conformity with the social standards of the day, standards which the subject of the biography did so much to set at naught. Angry as Mrs. Gaskell may be, at the Quarterly Review article of Dec. 1848 comparing Vanity Fair and Jane Eyre, there is an element of apology in her defence of Charlotte Brontë, and the references to the hardness of her life. (36) Though part of the circumspection of the book is due to Miss Nussey's elimination of names of places and people before she lent the letters to Mrs. Gaskell, she too takes care to omit names of living persons of whom she will have to tell unpleasant truths. It is this reserve

which, despite the attractiveness of the book, takes from it some of its truth. It appears, when we come to the marriage of Charlotte Brontë, in the remark, "Henceforward the sacred doors of home are closed upon her married life. We, her loving friends, standing outside, caught occasional glimpses of brightness, and pleasant peaceful murmurs of sound, telling of the gladness within." (37)

It is clear that the value of letters as biographical material is second only to that of a Journal, and where a biographer has access to both kinds of material he is generously endowed for a first-hand picture of his subject. Of 19th century biographies largely based on such material, Moore's Life of Byron is a good example. Its full title, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron with Notices of his Life suggests the approach of the writer. Moore does not confine himself rigidly to those two sources of information; for example, Byron's early instructors and friends, including his nurse give stories of his early years. (38) From 1811, Moore can draw on his own impressions of Byron from daily contact with him. One of the best passages in the Life describes a visit paid by Moore to La Mira in 1819. (39) He tells of the time spent with Byron, and paints strikingly and beautifully the scene in the gondola which they shared. For the last part of Byron's life his sources include Count Gamba, brother of Countess Guiccioli, Colonel Stanhope, and the people attending the poet on his death-bed. (40) Nevertheless, material autobiographical in character is Moore's most fruitful source.

The letters to Byron's Harrow friends having been destroyed, Moore has to begin with the friendly easy letter to Miss Pigot of 1804. (41) Thereafter, the more private letters are represented by those to his mother, to whom Byron shows characteristic respect, consideration, but not affection, and to his friend Mr. Dallas; from 1811, Murray the publisher enters the circle, and from 1813, Gifford. Letters to Moore himself appear as soon as the acquaintance ripens. (42) While Moore is not in the habit of printing undigested lumps of correspondence, at certain points, such as

Nov. 17th 1816 to May 5th 1817, and from Ravenna Dec. 1819 to June 7th 1820, a group of unbroken letters appears. (43) Occasionally we feel that more selection might have been exercised, as in the group of letters to Murray in 1813 dealing with the Bride of Abydos, but, on the whole, redundancies do not appear in the choice of letters. A feature, however, is Moore's discretion in putting asterisks when he imagines Byron to have been too unreserved on current events, or on living poets; there are so many asterisks in a letter to Moore of 1822 that we wonder why it was printed at all. (44) In any series of letters, we are given an adequate picture of Byron's literary work, the high value set by him on fellow-writers, especially Moore, Scott as a novelist, and the poets of Pope's school; as a man, too, we see his blended humour, melancholy, and generosity.

Amongst the Journals drawn upon by Moore are those written in London from November 1813, the Memorandum done before leaving London in 1816, his Journal of 1816 for his sister Augusta, Mrs. Leigh, describing his tour of the Bernese Alps, and his Diary written at Ravenna in 1821. (45)

From this material, Moore traces Byron's poetic development, describing the circumstances, for example, which led to the writing of English Bards, and Childe Harold, and indicating Byron's opinion of his own work. (46) But to Byron, literature was only one element in his life. Accordingly, we find Moore's principal idea as being to show Byron as a person, his character, and development, and to reveal him as he was seen by one who could sincerely write, "For myself, I can only say that, from the moment I began to unravel his character, the most slighting and even acrimonious expressions that I could have heard, he had, in a fit of spleen, uttered against me, would have no more altered my opinion of his disposition, nor disturbed my affection for him, than the momentary clouding over of a bright sky could leave an impression on the mind of gloom after its shadow had passed away." (47) There are those who condemn Moore's omission of the amorous side of Byron's character till the period of his residence in Italy, but this was done at Byron's own desire



not to compromise others, he having told Murray in 1819 that the Memoranda up to 1816 were not "Confessions". (48) In that part of Byron's life, and in connection with Lady Byron, Moore condemns where he must, but his main purpose is to trace sympathetically the development of the poet's character. While some may deplore his concealment, and suspect that he has concealed more than he has done, others may prefer his reticence to the modern handling of Byron as a subject of biography. Enough is told to make us conscious, not of an allocation of blame, but of the enactment of a great tragedy, wherein to know all is to forgive all.

Another biography in which letters, supplemented by Journal extracts, are most frequently employed is G.O. Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, published in 1876. There are certain sections of narrative, such as that concerning the Macaulay family, especially Zachary Macaulay, the father of Lord Macaulay, and that tracing the start of Macaulay's connection with the Edinburgh Review. (49) An occasional anecdote is supplied, such as that of Macaulay's retort as a child to his hostess, after a burning accident, "Thank you, madam, the agony is abated." (50) We have also pictures of him in his youth as described by his sister, Lady Trevelyan, of him in the year 1831-32 in the domestic scene as portrayed in the Journal of his sister Margaret, and in 1847 as a fond and indulgent uncle. (51) For his parliamentary career, sometimes we are indebted to Macaulay's own speeches, collected by him in self-defence at Tunbridge Wells in 1853. (52) Partly because of the kind of life led by his subject, Trevelyan draws most freely, however, on Macaulay's letters. They begin in 1813 with the series to his parents from Shelford, and, varied with some to his friends Ellis, Sharp, and Napier, the family letters continue in the biography, being used most copiously during the period on the supreme Council for India, from 1834 to 1838. (53) Though the letters are not discontinued, beginning with 1838 to 1839, the year in which Macaulay made his tour through France and Italy, Trevelyan uses increasingly the Diary, until between 1847 and Macaulay's death

we feel the lack of selection is due to a certain weariness, and a lapse of the biographic art.(54)

From his material, Trevelyan is able to show us Macaulay's character when subjected to ordeal, when, for the sake of the help he could give his family, he tore the links binding him to England save that with his sister Hannah, who accompanied him to India, and again, when, for his advocacy of the "Black Act," he was met with scurrility, only to counter it with restraint and steadfastness. (55) It has been suggested that Trevelyan did less than justice to Macaulay's literary and political enemy, John Wilson Croker; the fact remains that Trevelyan prints enough to let us see that if Macaulay boasted of beating Croker black and blue, Croker wounded him deeply, as the Journal shows, by his abuse of the first volumes of Macaulay's History.(56)

The virtue of the book lies in its avoidance of panegyric, yet the convincing picture of Macaulay as a tender, unselfish son, brother, and uncle; as a reader of wide sympathy, with a poet's sensibility, but without the temperament of uneasy vanity, and gratification at the expense of others; as a man working tremendously hard, and putting his best into his work, whether in Parliament or in literature, and, without mock modesty, recognizing how far short it comes of excellence; finally, as a successful public man - Secretary at War, Supreme Councillor, or Paymaster - whose real heart was in the quiet student's life, valuing money, after a modicum of comfort, only for what it can give to others.

A third example of this kind of biography is to be found in George Eliot's Life as related in her Letters and Journals, published by her second husband, J.W. Cross, in 1884. Like Lockhart, and later Froude, Cross of set purpose excludes conversation from his biography, "because it is difficult to be certain of complete accuracy, and everything depends upon accuracy. Recollections of conversation are seldom to be implicitly trusted in the absence of notes made at the time. The value of spoken words depends, too, so much upon the tone, and on the circumstances which gave rise to

their utterance, that they often mislead as much as they enlighten, when, in the process of repetition, they have taken colour from another mind."(57) Letters from other correspondents, particularly those who wrote to the novelist about her books are included.

From 1878, there are more frequent breaks in the series of letters and journal extracts, to give a personal picture of her condition on the death of Mr.G.H. Lewes, to refer to their married life, and to describe her death.(58) By far the greater part of the book, however, is made up of the two types of material already mentioned.

After the introductory section, into which are woven extracts from Felix Holt and Adam Bede, the narrative is made up of selected parts of the letters and journals, with only an occasional thread of elucidation, the names of the correspondents or recipients being printed in the margin. Feeling as strongly as she did about the publication of private memoranda to cover the last years of Dickens's life, it is not surprising to find George Eliot telling Miss Hennell as early as 1861 that she has destroyed most of the letters she has received from friends lest, after her death, they should be the subject of idle curiosity.(59) Thus, from 1854, the selected extracts from her Journal and Recollections incorporated in the Life deal in a (60) fairly objective way with the places she has visited, and with the literary work she has on hand. In selecting from the letters and journals, and arranging them in order of date to give a day to day picture of George Eliot's life, the author says that he has pruned them of everything irrelevant and of everything which she might have wished omitted.(61) Nevertheless, fitted as the letters, Journal, and Recollections are, the strongest impression which they make upon the reader is <sup>that</sup> their interest is the intrinsic one, of the development, character, and opinions of an intellectual, imaginative, and affectionate woman, whose late flowering was made possible by the stimulus and happiness of married life.(62) It is due to the fact that what was written by George Eliot about herself could not fail to interest, rather than to the artistic presentment of the material chosen.



Unlike those just discussed, the next group of biographies does not rely principally for narrative and characterisation upon letters and journals. While these may be used, they are only a proportion of the material. In point of time, the first of the group is the Memoir of the Life and Character of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, by James Prior. His purpose in this book is, as he tells us, to put an end to the ungenerous warfare against Burke, by one who is impartial, with nothing to gain, but who only wishes to see his qualities given due honour.(63) This accounts for his corrections, throughout the book, of statements previously made, or false interpretations of the facts. For little points in Burke's life he draws upon those who knew him, quoting on several occasions Dr. Johnson. At the end, again, he gives from others their views of Burke's appearance, habits, and their tributes, unfortunately with inadequate selection, to him as a writer and orator.(64) Throughout, he uses at intervals Burke's letters, though not always chosen for their value in revealing character, and occasionally quotes from Burke's other written work, and from his speeches to his electors.(65)

Mainly, the book is a narrative of Burke's career, and, (here he points forward) at times he lets us see it against the background of public events, such as the outbreak of war between France and England.(66) So far, however, there is no attempt to write what is known as a "Life and Times" type of biography, for, whenever he sketches those with whom Burke came into contact - Lord Charlemont, Goldsmith, Pitt - these prove in the nature of digressions, drawing Burke from the centre of the stage.(67)

Prior in the title has expressly claimed that it is to give the character of Burke, and by his success or failure the book must be judged. In the course of it, he lets us see how Burke's excellence was the result of innate ability along with careful study; he indicates Burke's good qualities, and sums up his characteristics, and public principles.(68) While he occasionally lets us see Burke in the circle of his friends, at work, or amongst his family, this aspect of the biography is not, on the whole stressed; the relegation

to footnotes of some of the small number of anecdotes included is characteristic of the handling. There is vividness in the farewell scene with the electors of Bristol, but in others, among them the trial of Warren Hastings, the quality is lacking.(69) The consequence is that the final touch of life needed to stamp a biography as a work of art he has failed to give.

Between the Life of Burke and the Life of Oliver Goldsmith in 1837, Prior had evidently been meditating on the subject of biography, for, in the introduction, he writes, "Biography to be useful must be minute; to be entertaining also it must be minute. Without in short it enters into detail, we can never know much of the individual, or of the private history, often not the least interesting portion of the history of his works,"(70) and again, in discussing Goldsmith's "Parnell," "We are consequently uninformed of the private life, the domestic habits and manners, the origin, accidental or otherwise, of his productions, the space of time they occupied in composition, when they were published, or his mode of study, in short of all the circumstances that go to make up a life not merely domestic but literary.....When biography fails to interest us it commonly fails from this cause."(71)

To give a detailed and accurate life-story of Goldsmith, thereby hoping to produce by a cumulative process, an interesting and complete study, is his first intention. For this reason, any material - and so far this is the most varied biography in the group - is examined with scrupulous care. Though he often accepts Boswell's evidence as the most accurate, he is able to discount him as a witness to Goldsmith's envy, by showing the causes of his distortion,(72) and he verifies from other people the evidence of Boswell. As the Life was to be a preface to Goldsmith's printed works, Prior regards it as one of the duties of a biographer to collect the scattered productions of his principal. In his research, some new material has come to hand, such as his discovery of Griffiths' way of indicating articles contributed by Goldsmith to the Monthly Review.(73)

Having set other people to undertake research for him on certain

periods of Goldsmith's life, Prior is able to incorporate the material supplied, for example by the Rev. Thomas Handcock. Such knowledge as could be supplied by a member of the family he obtains from Mrs. Hodson. Of those already having produced a piece of work on (74) Goldsmith Dr. Percy is representative. Amongst those giving information, Dr. McVeagh McDonnell, and Judge Day, whose contribution has not the special value of vivid first-hand communication, are those where the selective process might have been carried further. (75) For Goldsmith's table-talk, his conversational qualities, and some of his opinions the most obvious source is Boswell. (76) In addition, though not one of Prior's main sources, we find him using Goldsmith's letters to members of his family, and to his friends, especially Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, and Colman. (77) Amongst the last, however, some are mere business notes, valuable enough for the facts of Goldsmith's life, but not specially characteristic. Much the largest source is Goldsmith's own work, which is inset in the book as part of the narrative. The Essay on Education is used, for instance, to throw light on his experiences as an usher, while the Vicar of Wakefield and the essays are used for their value about the Green Arbour period. (78) In addition to the biographical use made of Goldsmith's work, Prior gives us a chronological account of the works known to be his, whether creative, fugitive essays, or mere compilation. This emphasis on Goldsmith as a literary figure is characteristically shown by the inclusion of a list of articles contributed by him to the Critical Review. (79)

With such an abundance of material Prior does not always avoid the temptation to digress, unnecessarily long sections being devoted to those introduced for their connection with Goldsmith; Lauchlan Maclean of the Edinburgh period, and Dr. Johnson, Garrick, and Peter Annet of the London period are examples of this. (80) Occasionally, as in the comparison of Goldsmith and Smollett, one feels that the digression is of value, but too often it is an intrusion between Goldsmith and the reader. (81) When an anecdote, such as Goldsmith's playing with the dog in the midst of the composition



of the Traveller connects itself with the literary work being fully discussed, Prior prints it, but on the whole the proportion of anecdote, comment on his character, and pictures of him at different periods of his life is comparatively small.(82) Two final points emerge on this score, first that where Goldsmith comes most alive is in the pages of Boswell, and secondly, that so great is the charm of Goldsmith's personality, that the reader is more aware of it than the amount of material actually revealing it would seem to explain; of this we feel it is true, as it was of his writing, "Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit."

Another biography in which appears variety of material is Forster's Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith of 1848. Forster, in the Preface to the Second Edition of 1854, reveals the sometimes unacknowledged sources of Prior, and consequently his own, for his book owes a fair amount to the earlier biography. The Percy Memoir he acknowledges as their common source for Goldsmith's boyhood, his adventures in Edinburgh, the details of his bachelor's degree, and other parts, while Miss Milner's recollections published by the European and Gentleman's Magazine, the anecdotes of Cooke, and Bishop Percy, and Northcote's Life of Reynolds were similarly laid under tribute.(83) After making public the debt of Prior to these people, Forster now himself freely uses the Memoir of Percy, who in a period of depression in 1773 received Goldsmith's papers, facts of his life, and much that would be valuable for an official biographer.(84)

These are supplemented by information received from people who knew Goldsmith intimately at different periods of his life. Like Prior, Forster uses freely not only Goldsmith's letters, but other work which seems to have a biographical significance,

Here, however, the resemblance with Prior ceases, for his chief purpose being to display the character of Goldsmith, his greatest pains are in correcting what he thinks will throw a distorting light on the personal qualities of his subject. Washington Irving's erection of Goldsmith's fondness for Miss Mary Hornecks into a ruling passion for the "Jessamy Bride" receives his ridicule.(85)

Equally does Boswell's belief that Goldsmith was seriously angry at the distinction shown to her and to her sister when they were at the window in Lisle, missing, as he did, Goldsmith's solemn drollery in the remark that he too could have his admirers.(86) Not only does he strive to present Goldsmith truthfully, but by showing, for example, how Goldsmith's childish difficulties, and trouble at the University arose partly from his physical, partly from his financial disadvantages, and partly from his diffidence, and how these in turn reacted on it, he traces Goldsmith's development at various times.(87)

Whatever will add to the picture of Goldsmith at a particular period is included - his tailor's bill for 1770, mentioning a suit of mourning is used to disprove Northcote's story of Goldsmith's appearing in half-mourning at the time of his mother's death, explaining that it was for a distant relation.(88) In giving a facsimile of a letter to Colman in 1767, Forster writes, "A man's handwriting is part of himself, and helps to complete his portraiture," while in the formlessness of the conclusion of a letter to Garrick in 1773

Forster reads Goldsmith's agitation at the time.(89) By a series of anecdotes, too, Forster suggests various qualities of Goldsmith, and when he draws upon those told by Boswell, he is careful to show us Johnson's respect and affection for Goldsmith, the two men meeting as equals, though with different gifts, not Goldsmith, as a lesser luminary revolving round a star of the first magnitude.

The title of the biography suggests Forster feeling his way to something new, of which more will have to be said later, for he sees Goldsmith not as an isolated figure, but against the contemporary background. For the year 1758, for example, he describes the position of authors, lets us see Goldsmith at the Sign of the Dunciad and Green Arbour Court, regarding him as the representative of Grub Street, with its anguish, and such rewards as it might bestow.(90) A similar section is that dealing with Patrons of Literature, when he discusses the common relations of the government and men of letters, thereby stressing Goldsmith's refusal to give over his talents, and be a party writer.(91) It is not here, however, that this biography

is best, but on the purely personal side. So sure is he of the essential loveliness and greatness of Goldsmith, that he does not shrink from letting us see him squandering the money drawn from the Good-Natured Man, strutting in his bloom-coloured suit, or kicking in penance for his extravagance the masquerade suit which he had used at Vauxhall with Sir Joshua Reynolds.(92) So successfully, too, has he drawn Goldsmith, that one accepts the story of Burke's bursting into tears on the news of his death, and of Johnson's speaking of him for years with tenderness and a sense of loss.(93)

Though appearing in 1905, the Life of Charles Lamb by E.V. Lucas is so much in the tradition already described that it falls to be mentioned here. Working on material from which he is going to reconstruct the life and character of Lamb, the writer in his introduction says that his aim is "to collect and fuse into a single narrative the sum of this scattered information. As in carrying out that task I tried as far as possible to keep the story of Lamb's life in his own and his sister's words and in those of their own contemporaries, my part will be found to be less that of author than of stage-manager."(94)

This triple division of his material covers that employed by E.V. Lucas. Though pointing out the difficulty of disentangling fact from fiction, and in the case of the Christ's Hospital essay allowing for Lamb's habit of blending his own experiences with those of Coleridge, (95) he uses for Lamb's forebears and his early years extracts from the essays, from Rosamund Grey, and from the stories by brother and sister in Mrs.Leicester's School.(96) From that period on, there are included extracts, varying in length, to portray various friends of the essayist, and, as in the long extract from Old China, to show something of his family life.(97) His poems, too, are employed as material, one of the most characteristic being that of 1827 inspired by the death of his friend Hood's daughter, On an infant dying as soon as born.(98) From May 27th 1796, the date of the first letter preserved, one to Coleridge, regular



year by year use is made of these to cover the events of most importance in Lamb's life.(99) Mary Lamb's letters, particularly a group to Sarah Stoddart in 1803,(100) are also employed, and sometimes we find a friend receiving a joint letter from the brother and sister. From the material supplied about Lamb's schooldays by C.V.Le Grice,(101) to the end of his life, those who were his friends or who visited him have contributed valuable pictures of Lamb. One of the most interesting single extracts is that from Hazlitt's essay, Persons one would wish to have seen, showing the sort of subject discussed by the friends at Lamb's Thursday parties,(102) while Crabb Robinson's diary from 1811 appears in almost every yearly record to the end of Lamb's life.(103)

From the material at his disposal, E.V. Lucas is able to trace Lamb's literary career; an interesting sidelight on the Dissertation on Roast Pig is given, for example, by the printing of a letter to Coleridge, who had in error thanked Lamb for the gift of a sucking-pig.(104) Much more, however, do we see Lamb in the midst of his friends, who are sketched for us, in the various homes occupied by him, and acting as a devoted and generous brother. This emphasis is deliberate, for, as Lucas says in connection with the Essays of Elia, "The life of Charles Lamb, as these pages testify, is the narrative of one who was a man and brother first, an East India clerk next, and a writer afterwards." (105) To so portray Lamb, Lucas is content, on the whole, to remain in the background. When he feels it necessary to defend Lamb because of the accusations springing from Confessions of a Drunkard,(106) he lets Lamb speak for himself. Even in the chapter Charles Lamb in Elia, it is the essays, New Year's Eve, Imperfect Sympathies and Character of the Late Elia which form the bulk of the chapter.(107) The author chose so much from Lamb's letters and essays to let his character unfold itself naturally, nor does he attempt a formal estimate. Lacking though this book may therefore be, in the highest biographic art, one feels that Lucas was probably right, for who could portray Lamb as he could himself, and, shining through whatever he wrote, Lamb's character needs no

further commentary.

- (1) Hayley I, 13, 26. (2) Hayley I, 227-401. (3) Hayley II, 6-158.
- (4) Strachey C. & C., 50. (5) Hayley III, 1-356, 356-71.
- (6) Hayley III, xxviii. (7) Hayley II, 221. (8) Partington Letter-Books, 257. (9) Hayley I, 113. (10) Aikin I, 68, 155, II, 152, 185.
- (11) Aikin I, 214. (12) Aikin I, 227-8. (13) Macaulay, 721.
- (14) Aikin II, 113-24. (15) Aikin I, 73f., 32f., 47-55, 236-44.
- (16) Macaulay, 701. (17) Stanley I, vii. (18) Stanley I, 30-9.
- (19) Stanley I, 312-5. (20) Stanley II, 162, 386. (21) Stanley I, 211-2.
- (22) Stanley I, 218-22. (23) Stanley II, 282-5. (24) Stanley II, 249.
- (25) Houghton, 174, 45-50. (26) Houghton, 223. (27) Houghton, 161, 214.
- (28) Houghton, 156, 95-6. (29) Houghton, 153-4, 278-81. (30) Gaskell, 37-38. (31) Gaskell, 86-91. (32) Gaskell, 66-75. (33) Gaskell, 104, 138, 267, 301, 317, 426. (34) Gaskell, 8-25, 502-8, 199-204.
- (35) Gaskell, 255. (36) Gaskell, 342-4. (37) Gaskell, 517.
- (38) Moore I, 28, 30. (39) Moore II, 247-72. (40) Moore II, 763-71.
- (41) Moore I, 66. (42) Moore I, 153, 284, 288, 408, 409.
- (43) Moore II, 52-108, 291-330. (44) Moore II, 599-600. (45) Moore I, 435-75, 665-9, II, 14-22, 395-434. (46) Moore I, 142-6, 157-66, 253-62.
- (47) Moore II, 230. (48) Moore II, 279. (49) Trevelyan I, 17-39, 135-40. (50) Trevelyan I, 42. (51) Trevelyan I, 84-5, 208-21, II, 182-196. (52) Trevelyan II, 368. (53) Trevelyan I, 55, 223-82, 406-32.
- (54) Trevelyan I, 536-43, 545-53, 555-7, II, 170f.
- (55) Trevelyan I, 383-6, 437-45. (56) Trevelyan II, 244. (57) Cross I, vii. (58) Cross II, 3-5, 73, III, 295-8, 306, 367-75, 385-6.
- (59) Cross II, 243. (60) Cross I, 270f. (61) Cross I, vi.
- (62) Cross I, 335-8. (63) Prior Burke, xvii. (64) Prior Burke, 15-6, 63-4, 288, 484-514. (65) Prior Burke, 124-40, 335-9, 255, 217-8, 237-8.
- (66) Prior Burke, 412-7. (67) Prior Burke, 68-70, 86-8, 280-4.
- (68) Prior Burke, 9, 487-502. (69) Prior Burke, 39, 443-6, 489n., 237-40, 296-9. (70) Prior Gold., I, viii-ix. (71) Prior Gold., II, 284-5.
- (72) Prior Gold., I, 427-40. (73) Prior Gold., I, 238-9. (74) Prior Gold., I, 22, 25-8, 125-6, 133, 138. (75) Prior Gold., II, 341-8, 357-62.

- (76) Prior Gold., II, 442-61. (77) Prior Gold., I, 159-64, II, 221-3, 288-95, 386-7. (78) Prior Gold., I, 207, 330-1. (79) Prior Gold., I, 315-7. (80) Prior Gold., I, 149-51, 374-81, 421-3. (81) Prior Gold., I, 344-7. (82) Prior Gold., II, 33. (83) Forster Gold., xv-xxiv. (84) Forster Gold., 440. (85) Forster Gold., 322. (86) Forster Gold., 356. (87) Forster Gold., 8-12, 16-20. (88) Forster Gold., 359. (89) Forster Gold., 262-5, 447. (90) Forster Gold., 89-99. (91) Forster Gold., 244-9. (92) Forster Gold., 299, 322, 377. (93) Forster Gold., 462. (94) Lucas I, vi. (95) Lucas I, 47. (96) Lucas I, 2-5. (97) Lucas I, 171-3. (98) Lucas II, 177-8. (99) Lucas I, 88. (100) Lucas I, 243. (101) Lucas I, 61-2. (102) Lucas I, 380-8. (103) Lucas I, 305f. (104) Lucas II, 85. (105) Lucas II, 43. (106) Lucas I, 333-40. (107) Lucas II, 51-9.



## Chapter VI.

## Further Developments.

Biographies stressing a special aspect - Galt's Life of Byron; Forster's Life of Charles Dickens; compared with Chesterton's Charles Dickens; Life and Times biography - Macaulay's biographical essays; Masson's Life of Milton; Morley's Life of Gladstone. Difficulty of balance between Life and Times. Widening range of subject - Lewes's Life of Goethe; Gilchrist's Life of Blake. Partial biography - Trelawny, Hall Caine, Traubel, Rosebery. Imperfect biography - Godwin's Life of Chaucer; Hogg's Life of Shelley.

In coming to John Galt's Life of Lord Byron of 1830, we approach the type of biography which does not attempt to give the whole of the subject's life, but stresses one aspect of the life-story much more than the rest. The relation of Galt to Byron was of one seeking by careful civility and caution to advance into intimacy; he was gratified by Byron's friendship, even receiving a special copy of the Bride of Abydos, but he never felt secure in the poet's friendship.(1) This may in part explain Galt's scope in writing the Life, the deliberate intention to confine himself to the poet's literary and public life. In his Preface, he condemns Moore's attempt to defend Byron's conduct, especially towards Lady Byron, while he himself refrains from taking sides,(2) and, after the section in the book devoted to Lady Byron, he writes that he would have said even less had it been possible,"for I have never been able to reconcile to my notions of propriety, the exposure of domestic concerns which the world has no right claim to know, and can only urge the plea of curiosity for desiring to see explained."(3) Everything which he has set down of Byron's private affairs has been done with reluctance, and his failings have been touched only because of the influence upon his poetry.

After passing rapidly, therefore, over Byron's childhood, he reaches the first important stopping place in the Edinburgh Review

article leading to English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. (4) From that point, the emphasis is on Byron's travels, and on other material which is to explain his poetry. Hobhouse's narrative is used freely as illustration for Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, (5) and so important does he think those travels, in which the curiosity of the reader he says ought to be more legitimately interested than in Byron's private affairs, that he supplements the visit of Byron to Ali Pashaw by his own visit to Velhi Pashaw, whose type he feels impressed Byron's verse romances. (6) Amongst the other material is to be found the experience on which Byron based the Giaour. (7) Confining himself to Byron's public career, he writes from the spring of 1823 almost exclusively the narrative of the part played by Byron in the liberation of Greece. (8) It is not that Galt was quite uninterested in Byron's character, for he gives characteristic anecdotes at rare intervals, and an agreeable impression is left of the poet during the hey-day of his fame in 1813, after the publication of Childe Harold; (9) it was rather that his intention was to give more knowledge of the side of Byron's life which constituted his claim to lasting fame. In fulfilling this purpose, Galt by his biography lays upon posterity a considerable debt.

Forster's Life of Charles Dickens, 1871, has certain points of resemblance to Galt's Life of Byron. In both, the element of anecdote is comparatively small; in both, the emphasis is on the literary side of the subject's life, and there is a corresponding reticence about his private concerns. This does not mean that Forster omits pictures of Dickens at different periods of his life, for we are told what he looked like in 1837, at the time of writing Pickwick Papers, how he behaved as stage-manager in the theatricals of 1845, and how he lived with his family and dogs at Gadshill Place from 1856 to 1870. (10) His character, too, is built up by little details from time to time, an interesting point being made of the after-effect on his character of the early experiences of a sensitive nature, yet one who believed that by an effort of will everything could be overcome; (11) again, in 1857, Forster discusses the various

influences which produced his apparent intolerance, his lack of adjustment to others, and the consequent restlessness leading to the breaking up of his home.(12) While, too, Forster is able to add little vivid touches from his personal knowledge of Dickens, his main concern is with Dickens's public career.

For this reason, we find discussed Dickens's first literary activities, the origin of Sketches by Boz, all the relevant material for Pickwick Papers, and each succeeding novel, Dickens's travels, and their effect on his writing, and his various readings. For this, by far the most important material is Dickens's letters to Forster, supplemented by some family letters to his daughter Mary, and his sister-in-law Miss Hogarth.(13) There we find recorded the progress of his books, his plans, and other literary material, and more and more we recognize Dickens the novelist in the things he sees in his travels, the people whom he describes, and the power to reproduce unforgettably an event which he has witnessed. In his printing of the letters, Forster is careful to avoid repetition of material already appearing in American Notes and in Pictures from Italy,(14) unless the letters give a fresher, more detailed picture. In addition to such light as the letters may throw upon the work on hand, Forster prints those dealing with the financial aspect of Dickens's literary activity.(15) To show the novelist's interest in his illustrations, he prints pages of figures as possible Dombey's from which Dickens could select.(16) To show the difference between the novelist's earlier ease, and his later corrections in composition, he prints parts of the plan of David Copperfield and Little Dorritt from the MSS. to which he had access.(17) The unpublished(18) part of Edwin Drood and the outline of Dombey and Son before it was written, as well as lists of names, suggestions for plots, and unused fancies from Dickens's Memoranda are also amongst the material printed.(19)

Along with this fulness on the public side of Dickens's life is an extreme reticence about his private affairs. Forster claimed that the biography represents Dickens as being inseparable from his



work, which constituted the whole of his inner life, and this seems to have been justified. The consciousness of Dickens's dignity as a writer we feel to be carried too far, however, when Forster prints in a note the characteristically humorous letter of Dickens from Broadstairs in 1849, telling of his proposed change to Folkestone, and when Forster writes of it, "Even in the modest retirement of a note I fear that I shall offend the dignity of history, and of biography, by printing the lines in which this intention was announced to me." (20) His attitude can be gauged still more clearly by his concluding remarks about Dickens's separation from his wife, "How far what remained of his story took tone or colour from it, and especially from the altered career on which, at the same time he entered, will thus be sufficiently explained; and with anything else the public have nothing to do." (21) That these two tendencies shaped, and occasionally mis-shaped the biography is undoubted, and their double influence produces a poorer work than the author's earlier Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith; but when he weaves his material, as for the death of Dickens, he creates something which has the simplicity and beauty of what has been completely mastered.

What exactly Forster has done appears by comparing his book with G.K. Chesterton's Charles Dickens, first published in 1906. In it there is no attempt to tell everything about Dickens, for, as he points out, even an exhaustive work like Forster's must be a selection only of all the ascertainable facts. (22) It is Chesterton's personal judgment, without personal knowledge, of Dickens as revealed in his work, and as a characteristic figure of his age. Thus, instead of a detailed discussion of each literary production as it appears, Chesterton, standing aside a little, gives a review of Dickens's development at the various stages. For his childhood he sees the theatrical strain, the self-consciousness of an overwrought child, who is too much stimulated mentally, without being sufficiently nourished either mentally or physically. (23) These elements and their consequences he traces in the adult novelist, and in the theatrical tendencies of his later years. Similarly, he shows how Dickens's

early experiences gave him the key to the street, and profoundly influenced his art.(24) While Dickens's character is revealed through his novels, Chesterton stresses even less than Forster the private affairs of his subject, saying of his marriage, "This sketch is wholly literary, and I do not feel it necessary to do more than touch upon such incidents as his marriage, just as I shall do no more than touch upon the tragedy that ultimately overtook it."(25) Dickens, however, is not to him an isolated literary phenomenon, for he explains the novelist's popularity by his agonizing to produce what was wanted by the people, just because his tastes and outlook were so radically at one with theirs.(26) We thus find Chesterton giving not only a life of Dickens, but a survey of the Victorian era. Though not explicitly, he is doing what some of his predecessors had attempted, sketching the times in which the subject of the biography lived.

We are therefore now brought to a separate discussion of the Life and Times biography, as it is generally called. As early as 1825, this method of writing was forecast by one who was not officially a biographer at all, for Macaulay from the first of his essays critical, and historical, contributed to the Edinburgh Review, sketched in the background of the times. Most frequently he did it for the understanding of his subject, for his defence, or his condemnation. In the early essay on Milton, he estimates Milton's public conduct by showing the resemblance between the Great Rebellion and the Revolution of 1688, when the monarchs were guilty of the same offences, and the country's freedom was equally endangered.(27) He then goes on to justify Milton's taking a position under Cromwell, though himself a defender of freedom, by sketching the characteristics of the Puritans, Free-Thinkers, and Royalists, and showing how in his public career Milton blended the noblest qualities of each.(28) In 1827, to defend Machiavelli from the outcry against the immorality of his Prince, he traces the political and metaphysical development of Italian public feeling from the downfall of the Roman Empire, showing how they acquired their special qualities

and standards of morality.(29) On the other hand, to rebut the defence of Bacon's biographer, Mr. Montagu, on the charges of his torturing Peacham and of taking bribes, Macaulay draws a picture of the feeling of the day on these topics.(30) Amongst the best of the essays where the method is applied is that on Warren Hastings, in which by his sketch of Indian history and Indian life - subjects which he knew thoroughly, - Macaulay brings out the weight of Warren Hastings' responsibility.(31) In the article on Addison, too, his finely proportioned sketches of the political and literary background enable us to appreciate Addison's career and personality.(32) The other purpose for which he sketches in the background is to provide a vignette of a period of a person's life, one of such instances being his picture of the youth of Frederick the Great, and the court at Berlin (33), and another being the contrast between Byron's popularity at the height of his fame, and the position when, as a kind of moral scapegoat, he was execrated and outcast.(34)

In these examples which have been chosen, it will be noted that the people for whom Macaulay provides a background were people intimately connected with the life of their times. It was still to be discovered whether this process could be carried on, on the scale of a full length biography, or if, when the writers did it in a longer work, and more thoroughly than Forster attempted to do for Goldsmith, the result would be what Sir Edmund Gosse thinks a biographical anomaly.(35)

Easily the most ambitious biography written on this plan was the Life of John Milton narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical and Literary History of His Time by Professor David Masson, a work spread over the twenty years from 1858. His intention can be seen in the Prefaces to Volume I in 1858, to Volume II, in 1871, and to Volume VI in 1879. In the first of these, he says that his plan is to use as much illustrative material for Milton's life as possible, but also to make it "in some sort a continuous History of his Time." (36) For this purpose he is going to use Milton's own work, including his Latin Epistles and his English prose writings,



the work of such earlier biographers as Aubrey and Philips, and particularly State Papers and MSS. Of the historical part Masson says in the last of his Prefaces that it is not mere compilation but the chapters are "the results of original and independent survey and inquiry, according to the gradually formed notions of what English History ought to be and to include, with very deep digging, and much use of the pickaxe, in many tracts and spots of previously neglected ground." (37) Indeed, one of the features of the book is this publication of hitherto undiscovered material. He makes available extracts from the Order Books of the Council Of State from March to July 1649; there, after Masson's explanation of why the Secretary for Foreign Tongues became known as the Latin Secretary, we are able to judge of Milton's duties and position, all the extracts being printed in which Milton is mentioned and some in which he would be involved, though not actually named. (38) Another example of his illustration of Milton's work by material now known only to scholars of the period is the account of Salmasius, with a summary and extracts of his Defensio Regia as introduction to Milton's reply. (39) The other parts of the work are even more thoroughly documented from contemporary sources, for his Survey of British Literature in 1632 to illustrate Milton's position has, printed in it, the register of the Stationers' Company, July to December 1632 inclusive, to show the quantity and character of contemporary literature. (40) Still further do we find this in the historical part. Volume III, for example, contains parts of the Solemn League and Covenant, a list of the Scottish members sent as Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, and the subjects of debate in Assembly, (41) while Volume VI gives a list of the Regicide judges, a full discussion of the Indemnity Bill, the Church Question, the Trial of the Regicides, and even the speeches at the trial; (42) but these are only two of scores of such examples.

In a work of this kind, it must be considered whether such elaborate documentation, and such emphasis on the historical background are desirable, whether the connection between the central figure and his times is established, whether the subject of the biography is not

lost in the background, and how far the vividness of the personal portrait is maintained. Well would it be for every writer of this type of biography if he recalled what Hartley Coleridge stressed in the Introductory Essay to Lives of the Northern Worthies. There, after showing how biography and history supplement each other, he claims that "the life of the most domestic female could not be justly understood without some knowledge of the politics of the time in which she lived." (43) On the other hand, unlike history, in biography the man "is the end and aim of all"; he is the central figure of the picture, "the general circumstances of his times forming the back and fore ground." (44) That perfect balance between the man and his time this kind of biography finds it particularly difficult to maintain.

That Masson cannot always resist the temptation to print material which he has discovered, though of doubtful relevance, is seen for example when, in talking of Milton's Church pamphlets, he speaks of the Oxford Tracts on the other side, remarking that since the volume is now rare, an analysis of its contents may be of some interest. (45) Going deeper, however, we must admit the justice of his claim that Milton so represented his age in literature, in politics, and in religion, that to understand "his position, his motives, his thoughts by himself, his public words to his countrymen," we must turn to the history of his time. (46) It is this which justifies the proportion given to Milton's group of Anti-Episcopal Pamphlets, from which extracts are drawn, his Latin dispatches, and his controversial prose generally. (47) Interestingly, too, we are given the opportunity of reading side by side for the year 1655 the Council Minutes, Milton's Piedmontese Letters, summarised or quoted, sometimes both, and his Sonnet on the Late Massacre of Piedmont. (49)

Three things, however, suggest that the final adjustment between Milton and his times escaped the writer. The first is his confession in the Preface to Volume II that the History has sometimes assumed an interest continuous of its own, so that he has separated the historical and biographical sections. (50) From now on, these two

types of chapter alternate with one another. The second is the tendency of the historical parts to outweigh in bulk the biographical parts. This tendency is seen in Volume III, where from 1643 to 1649, the period of the prose works and of the sonnets, of seven hundred odd pages less than three hundred are biographical; the most extreme instance is Book IV, where sixty-one out of two hundred and thirty-eight pages deal with Milton at the Barbican, a list of his known pupils being given, and the remainder deal with the last two and a half years of the reign of Charles I. (51) The third significant indication is in Volume IV, where, between the first mention of Salmasius and the final discussion of Milton's Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Salmasium, there have been two breaks caused by historical chapters, the one dealing with Parliamentary matters, and Scottish events up to the Battle of Dunbar, while the other covers the period up to the Battle of Worcester. (52) That nothing is lacking for the understanding of Milton's public career and literary achievement will be admitted, including the light shed on his occupations and plans by the relevant sections of Epitaphium Damonis, and his plans for an epic poem as shown in the Reason of Church Government. (53) Almost the only parts, however, where we are conscious of the private side of Milton's life are the sections dealing with Milton and the Indemnity Bill, and the part learned from Richardson about Milton's habits, to be found in the last book. (54) An almost superabundance of information and of scholarship the book possesses, but it is assuredly literature of knowledge, not of power, the group into which fall those biographies where personality is triumphantly revealed.

The Life of William Ewart Gladstone by John Morley, of 1903, follows in the line of Macaulay and of Masson. He does not call it a Life and Times biography, but it is actually such, for, over his long life, Gladstone's private history was inextricably interwoven with that of his country, and, at times of Europe and the world. For the biography, Morley had access to the journals, sources, and documents to be found at Hawarden, a store whose size we can gauge



from the chapter The Octagon in Volume II.(55) There Morley describes the fireproof room wherein were sixty thousand selected letters addressed to Gladstone, a score of large folios containing his to others, and papers of business, such as memoranda of cabinet meetings, notes of speeches, and all the material connected with his various interests. In addition to the documentary material, there is the record of Gladstone's conversation at Hawarden in 1890 with Morley, and again with him during a tour to Biarritz in 1891-92.(56)

With this store of material Morley has to do two things. First, he has to trace Gladstone's career as a person, bringing out his special qualities. Secondly, he has to show him against his times, and to reveal the way in which Gladstone was affected by them, and in his turn moulded the history of his time. For the first of these aims, Gladstone's numerous letters were less useful than such material usually is, for, as Morley remarks, Gladstone's letters were mainly concerned with points of business, "They were not with him a medium for conveying the slighter incidents, fugitive moods, fleeting thoughts of life. Perhaps of these fugitive moods he may have had too few."(57) Gladstone himself in a letter of 1865 admitted also "Of the kind of correspondence properly called private and personal, I have none; indeed for many long years it has been out of my power, except in very few instances, to keep up this kind of correspondence".(58) Nevertheless, in each period of Gladstone's life, the letters form a part, with diary extracts, narrative, and recollections, of almost all the chapters. Occasionally, too, as in the group to Mrs. Gladstone from Balmoral during the period 1860-64, they are personal and even anecdotal.(59) This element in the biography, too, Morley supplements by such chapters as Characteristics 1840, and Autumn of 1871.(60)

The special quality of the book is the combination of this element with Gladstone's public career, and with his times. Good examples of this are to be found in the chapter The Tractarian Catastrophe, where we see how it affected Gladstone, and the part he played in it,(61) in The Italian Revolution, where European events

form the background of Gladstone's policy, (62) and in the section where Gladstone is shown in relation to the American Civil War. (63) One great difficulty Morley does not completely overcome, that of keeping going the various strands of Gladstone's public life at one time. This appears particularly over the Egyptian crisis, for the chapter Egypt (1881-1882), after the sketch of the situation, linked as it is with Gladstone, is followed by Political Jubilee, and Reform, before we come to the continuation, The Soudan (1884-1885). (64) At this very point, however, we see Morley's success in keeping Gladstone as the central figure. In the part where the general situation might have displaced him, or where the author might have become preoccupied with Gordon at the fall of Khartoum, he yet contrives to maintain the biographical quality of the work. The method may be most applicable to a great public figure like Gladstone, but Morley has produced a book preserving that delicate balance between the Life and the Times in which the subject lived.

Although contributing nothing new to biographical technique, two works deserve mention because they are typical of the widening range of biography in the 19th century. G.H. Lewes's Life and Works of Goethe, published in 1854 and revised in 1863, uses Goethe's Autobiography, and his diary of the Campaign in France to show his attitude to politics and to the Revolution, while his letters, printed at intervals, let us see what he did in study, his state of health, his varying love-affairs, his progress therein, and his various literary and other occupations. (65) To defend Goethe's character, too, Lewes prints, for example, his letters, suggestive of considerate charity, to a man in destitution at Gera. (66) On the strength of Goethe's own statement, both his prose and his poetry are linked up with events in his life. (67) From others come such contributions as the record of his interviews with Napoleon, including their conversations, and, perhaps best of all, the picture given of his Jubilee at Weimar. (68) Characteristic anecdotes are also introduced when they are of value.

All this, however, had been done at some time before. What is

new is the extension of the biographical method, hitherto restricted to English subjects, and, that English people may feel the greatness of Goethe, tracing his development, painting the man as he was, and letting people, who did not know the originals, appreciate something of Goethe's place in European literature. Occasionally, we may feel that Lewes has slightly overdrawn his picture, as when, after describing the scene at Strasburg, he writes, "Is not this narrative like a scene in a novel? The excited little Frenchwoman - the bewildered poet - the old fortune-teller, and the dry old dancing master, faintly sketched in the background, are the sort of figures a novelist would delight in." (69) In the chapter on The Poet as a Man of Science, which discusses Goethe's work on the metamorphosis of plants, the theory of colours, as contrasted with the work of Newton, and the discovery of the intermaxillary bone, there is the feeling that the biographer's private interests have overprolonged the chapter, but there is something in his claim that such a discussion shows the directions of Goethe's mind, and his definite achievement. (70) In the main, the literary chapters do give an English reader a reasonable first impression of Goethe's work, and of the way in which these productions sprang from the person portrayed in the remainder of the book.

Gilchrist's Life of William Blake of 1863 is also in many ways quite an ordinary production. There is the all too common temptation of biography to digress; for example, the mention of Blake's marriage leads to a description of Battersea Church, and an account of the vicar who married Blake; people whom Blake chanced to meet are described in detail, in particular those who lent him any assistance, Gilchrist thinking it necessary to describe Hayley's literary exploits, and to tell who bought certain works after Blake's death. (71) Of epistolary material there is little, and such pictures as we have of Blake at work and in his own home are supplied by long, almost unbroken extracts from Crabb Robinson's *Reminiscences*; (72) the only other first-hand impression is conveyed earlier by Mr. Samuel Palmer, a young disciple, who in a letter describes the circle at Hampstead,



the first impression made by Blake on others, and his character and mind.(73) In one section only does Gilchrist face the problem of Blake's remarkable personality, in the chapter entitled "Mad or Not Mad?" where the views of his friends and Blake's own are employed.(74) The biography does nothing new even when he lets us see Blake against the background of intense feeling in London in 1780, during the period of the Gordon Riots.(75)

It is unique, however, in widening the scope of biography to include even little known artists, as well as people distinguished in public affairs, and in the world of literature, for it was as an artist Blake hoped for recognition. In this respect we note especially the description of Blake's method of production of the Songs of Innocence, the description of his various designs from the Marriage of Heaven and Hell up to those for the Book of Job, these last designs being described with unusual vividness by Gilchrist, and the printing of a number of Blake's artistic efforts, one of the finest sets being the illustrations for Jerusalem.(76) A man of distinction in any sphere of life could from this time be a suitable subject for biography, if there could be found to write about him someone with sufficient knowledge of his particular realm, and with art enough to weld his material into a convincing portrait.

One more type of biographical writing requires some attention, that sometimes known as "partial biography," which confines itself to a part of the subject's life. E.J. Trelawny's Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron is characteristic of this class. Faults, it is true, the book has; one of them is that the last third deals with the author's own excursion into the Morea with Hamilton Browne to find the state of affairs there, his connection with Odysseus the Greek rival leader to Prince Mavrocordato, the time in Odysseus' cave, and the progress of the war for Greek independence.(77) A part which we could have wished omitted, or at least reduced, is the long and gruesome account of the finding of the bodies of Edward Williams and Shelley, after the shipwreck in the Gulf of Spezzia, and the burning of these under the supervision of the Health officials.(78)

Trelawny provides work of real interest, however, in telling how he came to visit Pisa to see Byron and Shelley. For Byron it is most valuable in the aspects of his character not emphasised by Moore - Byron's uneasiness to impress in society, his jealous sensitiveness about excelling in the art of swimming, his love of money, his planning without fulfilling, his strenuous resolution to keep down his weight, and the abstemiousness it involved.(79) All this is of value even if we allow for the failure of Trelawny to be attracted by Byron personally. The book brings out also the contrast with Shelley, to whose charm of personality the author yielded himself. Amongst the features of the poet's character suggested to us are his love of solitude, his poetic temperament, his studiousness, and mental activity, his sensitiveness and shunning of society, yet his gentleness and sweetness of disposition when with people.(80) This is not a mere panegyric, for he shows how Shelley carried out reforms when convinced of their justice, how he thought with profundity on the problems of life, yet was careless of his own; in the compass of the short study he does give something of Shelley's outward appearance, and makes us aware of the tragedy enacted in the Gulf of Spezzia.

In his Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti of 1882, Hall Caine does not profess to give a formal biography, but recollections interwoven with letters, criticism, and such facts of Rossetti's life as are necessary for elucidation. Apart from a letter in which Rossetti repudiates his supposed rude rejection of a visit by Princess Louise,(81) the correspondence is that dealing with the affairs of mutual interest to himself and Hall Caine. These letters fall into several groups, amongst the most interesting being those expressive of Rossetti's views on literary matters, and on poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Blake amongst others.(82) Another interesting group deals with the sonnet, and what was to become Caine's Sonnets of Three Centuries.(83) On the critical side, we have the discussion of every important poem, with quotations, as it came from Rossetti's pen. A section is devoted to the "Contemporary"

controversy begun by an attack, signed Thomas Maitland, and entitled "The Fleshly School of Poetry," an attack whose justice or otherwise he discusses, along with its effect on Rossetti.(84) The other side of Rossetti's work is touched upon by his account of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and his vivid description of the important picture, Dante's Dream.(85)

As one would expect, the most illuminating part deals with his personal knowledge of the poet. He describes their first meeting at Cheyne Walk in 1880, the poet's greeting, his dress, and appearance, and the general conversation.(86) For his second visit, amongst the topics handled by Caine is Rossetti's taking of the drug chloral, the author claiming that Rossetti's delusions went when the drug was stopped.(87) His main purpose has been to let people see Rossetti as he knew him, and from that personal knowledge he draws for Rossetti's last days, his failing health, and his death at Birchingtön.(88)

While there was even then, developing rapidly, an independent literature on the other side of the Atlantic, it was still so connected with English literature that Traubel's With Walt Whitman in Camden requires mention with the two books hitherto discussed. Although not published till 1906, it is a record of the time March 28 - July 14, 1888. In it he claims to set down the record, then get out of the way, to provoke conclusions but to come to none.(89) In consequence, he does not give a rounded picture even for the short period covered by it. In passing it records the events in the life of Whitman, such as the publication of Leaves of Grass.(90) But it is chiefly valuable as a means of revealing Whitman's opinions and character. We see his generous appreciation of others, his almost freakish humour, his attempts to be fair to people like Carlyle, Ruskin, still more Arnold, but his complete failure of sympathy, when, for example, he condemns Arnold's address on Milton, and the admiration of Style, saying that it is like people using their skill to make artificial flowers when they can pluck real ones.(91) We hear, too, what he has to say on religion, American life, and on humanity in



general. Traubel, though not providing a complete biography, writes in the best biographical tradition, by his emphasis on depicting the imperfections of Whitman as well as his virtues. The keynote of the book is to be found in the part to the readers ending, "I have never lost sight of his command of commands, 'Whatever you do, do not prettify me.'" (92)

One more book, <sup>1</sup>belonging this time to the 20th century, illustrates the partial biography. Lord Rosebery's Napoleon, The Last Phase of 1904, is not in the first place a creative work. Starting with the problem presented by Napoleon, Rosebery discusses the banishment, about which his purpose is to find out the truth. (93) After describing new material, the author discredits those who have hitherto been trusted for the St. Helena period, almost the only exception being Gourgaud. (94) In his chapter, The Deportation, he examines what were to Napoleon causes of hardship, and condemns Sir Hudson Lowe as an impossible choice for a rather difficult task. (95)

Only in the later part do we begin to have a picture of Napoleon. The remainder of the book supplies character sketches of those occupying the island with Napoleon, including the Commissioners of the various European powers, (96) then he proceeds to describe Napoleon at home, his conversations, and the subjects of his regrets. (97) After describing Napoleon's relations with democracy, Rosebery devotes a section to his death, before dealing with the problems of Napoleon's personality, his meteoric rise to fame, and his phenomenal collapse. (98) While Rosebery recognizes his genius, he still feels the enigma of Napoleon is not yet properly solved, and the book leaves as its final impression the series of interesting new facts about Napoleon, rather than the portrait which it is the special business of biography to produce.

Amongst these different types of biography, two examples will serve to show how easy it is, for different reasons, to write a biography which breaks one or more of the fundamental conditions of success. William Godwin published in 1803 a work whose very title is indicative of his wrong conception, The Life of Geoffrey

Chaucer, the English Poet including Memoirs of his near friend and kinsman, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, with sketches of the Manners, Opinions, Arts and Literature of England in the Fourteenth Century. Again, in the Preface he states his aim, with unfortunate clearness, "To delineate the state of England, such as Chaucer saw it, in every point of view in which it can be delineated, is the subject of this book.... If the knowledge of contemporary objects is the biography of Chaucer, the converse of the proposition will also be true, and the biography of Chaucer will be the picture of a certain portion of the literary, political, and domestic history of our country. The person of Chaucer may in this view be considered as the central figure in a miscellaneous painting, giving unity and individual application to the otherwise disjointed particulars with which the canvas is diversified."(99) Great biography is not written thus, nor, without deep research, admittedly unattempted by Godwin, can an adequate picture be given of the age. Because of his unfortunate prepossession for material dealing with John of Gaunt, whose character he seeks to clear, and whose career at home and abroad, irrespective of its connection with Chaucer, he outlines, Godwin admits that the book was long enough by the fourth volume; he had therefore to omit the analysis of Chaucer's last productions, the Canterbury Tales, and the discussion of these tales in preceding and contemporary authors.(100) This does not mean that the book is entirely worthless; his discussion of a deposition given by Chaucer in 1386 as throwing light on the generally accepted date of the poet's birth shows that he had access to some early material.(101) The quotation, however, of part of a paper by Steele on the subject of combats shows the uncertainty of his selection.(102) The sections discussing, with quotations, and an indication for the reader of the influences at work on them, Chaucer's various poems are not without value. Again, however, his uncertainty of touch appears in a section of Volume III. After discussing John of Gaunt's support of Wicliffe, and the poems tending to promote the cause of reformation, including Pierce Plowman, which is summarised with quotations, he comes to an interesting

comparison of Langland and Chaucer.(103) No sooner has he done this, however, than he passes to the career of John of Gaunt, which, with a brief reference to Chaucer, occupies the rest of the volume.

Though his chapter on the Character of Chaucer in the last volume discusses Chaucer's career, his outstanding qualities of character, and of poetry, and gives him his place in English poetry, Godwin fails entirely to separate history and biography.(104) Easily the worst example of this in the book is Volume I, where, from Chapter II to Chapter X, Chaucer is mentioned only twice, the rest being devoted to discussion of all the aspects of mediaeval life, then, after almost three hundred pages, he has to recapitulate the few known facts, eked out by several conjectures, about Chaucer.(105)

Forbidden by Sir Timothy Shelley, on pain of stopping supplies, to execute the task herself, the poet's wife handed over to T.J. Hogg the writing of her husband's biography.(106) The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley, appearing in 1858, is built up from the usual biographical material, including the letters of those who knew the poet in his youth. In these there is need for greater selection, as well as with some of Shelley's own, particularly the group exchanged with Godwin in 1812.(107) The main fault, however, is not in the selection of the letters, but in the handling of them. Shelley's letters, unlike Scott's, do not to a certain extent speak for themselves, but require an explanatory background, in addition to which they often do not deal with concrete concerns, nor add anything to our knowledge of the poet's character. Needless repetition, too, is involved by Hogg's using for a picture of life at Lymouth in 1812 extracts from letters which he is just going to print in full.(108) In the first volume are incorporated the Shelley Papers, printed earlier for the New Monthly Magazine. These give the most vivid picture of Shelley's appearance, habits, character, and personal details, such as his fondness for sustaining himself on literature and plain bread.(109) They almost alone subordinate the material to the central figure and purpose, and depict Shelley at Oxford in a manner we have but rarely again. Only in such amusing anecdotes as



that about Shelley and Mrs. Southey's teacakes during his visit to the Lake District do we have this same quality. (110) The picture of Shelley is not supported by conversation, for the recorded remarks of Shelley on chemistry and on the comfort of "sporting the oak" are addresses rather than conversation, and were revived by Hogg from recollection. (111)

Of the main weaknesses of the book the first is his style, flowery and prolix, which intervenes between himself and his subject, and between Shelley and the reader. Despite his condemnation of panegyric he refers to Shelley as a divine poet, as a King in intellect, and imagines the ladies as feeling "Behold your King!" The second is his tendency to obtrude his own affairs and opinions - his dislike of Oxford, his views on vegetarianism, his various vacation tours, including an account of the bad inns and food, and again and again his dislike of Eliza Westbrook. All this is despite the fact that their intimacy might have produced a biography of unique value, for, in addition to their life shared at Oxford, they were expelled together, and lived together at Poland Street. It fails most on those points where Boswell and Lockhart are unimpeachable - admiration for, without losing the humanity of, their subject, the arrangement of the material, and the subordination of self and material to the portrayal of the central figure.

- (1) Galt, vii, 61, 65, 168. (2) Galt, vi-vii. (3) Galt, 194. (4) Galt, 40-54. (5) Galt, 71f. (6) Galt, 80-6. (7) Galt, 156. (8) Galt, 272f. (9) Galt, 172-4. (10) Forster Dick., I, 96-7, II, 186, III, 189-95. (11) Forster Dick., I, 51-2. (12) Forster Dick., III, 153-75. (13) Forster Dick., I, 97f. (14) Forster Dick., I, 281, II, 95. (15) Forster Dick., I, 123-4. (16) Forster Dick., II, 317-8. (17) Forster Dick., III, 133-4. (18) Forster Dick., III, 429-39, II, 310-3. (19) Forster Dick., III, 245-65. (20) Forster Dick., II, 393. (21) Forster Dick., III, 176. (22) Chesterton, 208-9. (23) Chesterton, 26-8. (24) Chesterton, 46-8. (25) Chesterton, 66. (26) Chesterton, 99-108. (27) Macaulay, 15-21. (28) Macaulay, 22-6.

- (29) Macaulay, 30-40. (30) Macaulay, 370-5. (31) Macaulay, 609-18.  
 (32) Macaulay, 718-9, 726-7, 734. (33) Macaulay, 793-4. (34) Macaulay,  
 142-5. (35) Encyclopedia, II, 953. (36) Masson I, xi. (37) Masson VI, iii.  
 (38) Masson IV, 79-94. (39) Masson IV, 162-75. (40) Masson I, 549-50.  
 (41) Masson III, 13-23. (42) Masson VI, 28-98. (43) Coleridge I, xx.  
 (44) Coleridge I, xxii. (45) Masson II, 363. (46) Masson II, viii.  
 (47) Masson II, 237-68. (48) Masson IV, 158-61, V, 243-54, 575-6.  
 (49) Masson V, 183-92. (50) Masson II, viii. (51) Masson III, 631-91.  
 (52) Masson IV, 162-75, 176-223, 251-67, 272-311, 312-3. (53) Masson V,  
 91-3, 385-8. (54) Masson VI, 162-95, 678-84. (55) Morley II, 526-48.  
 (56) Morley III, 453-4, 464-89. (57) Morley II, 180. (58) Morley II, 527.  
 (59) Morley II, 92-106. (60) Morley I, 184-218, II, 377-92.  
 (61) Morley I, 303-26. (62) Morley II, 1-17. (63) Morley II, 69-86.  
 (64) Morley III, 72-86, 87-143, 144f. (65) Lewes, 3, 370-6, 39, 59-63, 224-7,  
 300. (66) Lewes, 248-54. (67) Lewes, 133-50, 182-4. (68) Lewes, 498-  
 502, 536-8. (69) Lewes, 78. (70) Lewes, 328-64. (71) Gilchrist, 41-2,  
 44-8, 144-8, 366. (72) Gilchrist, 337-44, 348-50. (73) Gilchrist, 301-4.  
 (74) Gilchrist, 319-31. (75) Gilchrist, 35. (76) Gilchrist, 69-70,  
 86-9, 284-90, 182-95. (77) Trelawny, 211-304. (78) Trelawny, 120-1, 127-  
 135. (79) Trelawny, 26-49. (80) Trelawny, 57-75. (81) Caine, 94-5.  
 (82) Caine, 150, 153-6, 157-8, 162, 165, 169-73, 178-81, 193-4.  
 (83) Caine, 236-51. (84) Caine, 62-74. (85) Caine, 8-12, 56-8.  
 (86) Caine, 208-17. (87) Caine, 229-30. (88) Caine, 266-95.  
 (89) Traubel I, viii. (90) Traubel I, 1, 6, 7, 24, 92. (91) Traubel I, 73,  
 7-8, 95-6, 104-5. (92) Traubel I, ix. (93) Rosebery, viii-xvii.  
 (94) Rosebery, 4-57. (95) Rosebery, 58-68. (96) Rosebery, 128-54.  
 (97) Rosebery, 155-214. (98) Rosebery, 226-62. (99) Godwin I, vii.  
 (100) Godwin I, xv. (101) Godwin I, xxii-xxxvi. (102) Godwin I, 189-90.  
 (103) Godwin III, 317-77. (104) Godwin IV, 165-201. (105) Godwin I,  
 32-3, 325-7. (106) Hogg T.J., I, ix-x. (107) Hogg T.J., I, 5-22, II, 134-  
 151. (108) Hogg T.J., II, 130-3. (109) Hogg T.J., I, xiv-xvii, 51f., 125-8.  
 (110) Hogg T.J., II, 31-5. (111) Hogg T.J., I, 59-63, 93-5.

## Carlyle as Biographer.

Gifts for biography revealed in *The French Revolution*. Distraction from biographical purpose in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, and *Oliver Cromwell*. *Frederick the Great* - biography, history, and prophecy. *Life of Sterling*.

The necessity of the writer's keeping ever before him the function of biography is illustrated by such a splendid failure as Thomas Carlyle. Although history and biography may help each other, their goals are so different that he who attempts to combine them courts biographical disaster. Unlike the historian, the writer of a *Life* cares little for the mass of society, and selects what differentiates man from his neighbours. This failure to separate the two kinds of writing, and the fact that, with one exception, Carlyle chose the Great Man as the medium for his strangely blended philosophy, explain the absence of pure biography amongst his writings. In all save the Life of Sterling appear his emphasis on authority, his iconoclasm in religion, combined with the desire to keep the ethics of Christianity, and his belief in progress, moral but not material. One cannot but regret this, as the French Revolution shows Carlyle to have possessed several of the gifts extremely valuable to one writing about people not personally known to him.

One of these is his ability to bring to life expressions found in his sources; the procession to Notre Dame with the Commons "in plain black mantle and white cravat" at once becomes real, (1) and this is only one example of what he is constantly doing. By means of a few vivid phrases, he can sketch for us a whole portrait gallery of different types of people - Demoiselle Théroigne, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, to name only three of them. (2) Though he can grasp the quality of a group as well as of an individual, in their way his longer sketches of such people as the dying Mirabeau, and Charlotte Corday, are supreme. (3) The physical is an index to the spiritual in such examples as this, of Mirabeau, "Through whose shaggy



beetle-brows, and rough-hewn, seamed, carbuncled face, there look natural ugliness, small-pox, incontinence, bankruptcy - and burning fire of genius; like comet-fire glaring fuliginous through murkiest confusions? It is Gabriel Honoré Riquetti de Mirabeau, the world-compeller; man-ruling Deputy of Aix!"(4) His wonderful power of making real the past is seen in even such a small incident as that of Bouillé at Metz, where he says of him standing on the staircase, that thus does "brave Bouillé, long a shadow, dawn on us visibly out of the dimness and become a person."(5) Along with this, his gift of dramatic narrative appears in such scenes, as the storming of the Bastille, and the Death of Marat.(6) But this power he employs, like the others, for the purposes of history, not of biography. Already, too, there is blended, as in his praise of Sansculotism,(7) the prophetic note, which was seldom to be absent from either his history or his biography.

The mention of this last brings us to the published lectures, Heroes and Hero-Worship, in which figures of the past are actually detached, and we have what become short biographies. The chief facts in the lives of Dante and of Luther are supplied by Carlyle, but with others only a few are given. In the essay on Johnson he refers to such characteristic points as his throwing away of the shoes given him, his physical ugliness and pain.(8) The book is not, however, as we might expect it to be, in essence one of biography. Rather do we see Carlyle as prophet, mocking sham, emphasising the vital need for sincerity, for truthful vision, for high morality, for faith, for originality, and for the acceptance of the hero. On individual topics also he has preaching; Dante gives him the opportunity to preach on mediaeval Catholicism,(9) while the simulacrum of it is dealt with in his Luther and Knox.(10) About Johnson comes the passage on the position of the man of letters, with "The true University in these days is a Collection of Books;"(11) and in Rousseau, he develops his ideas on the French Revolution.(12) Even when Carlyle casts aside the prophet's mantle, he shows these people rather as heroic types than as the individuals, so essential to biography proper.

In his Oliver Cromwell, we find Carlyle explicitly proclaiming himself as biographer, and, indeed certain elements in , and qualities of biography the volumes have. The work of his predecessor Noble, Cromwell's letters as the narrative of his public career, and his speeches on public occasions form the staple of the Life. A chronological narrative, even of single days in some instances, is given. On one occasion, the Battle of Preston, he weaves the accounts of four eye-witnesses - Cromwell's two letters, Captain Hodgson's recollections written after, Sir Marmaduke Langdale's letter written in vindication of his conduct, and the narrative of Sir James Turner.(13) While the letters are used principally in the narrative, at times they are wisely employed to reveal the blend of military ability, religion, and family tenderness in his character. Amongst the most interesting of the private letters are those mentioning his nephew's death at Marston Moor, and his affectionate ones to his wife.(14)

Apart from the employment of suitable biographical material, the Life of Oliver Cromwell is marked out by certain qualities which might have made for great biography. The part on the position of Dunbar, and of Lesley's army before the battle reveals his descriptive power.(15) The sections on the Battle of Dunbar and the Battle of Worcester show his narrative gift.(16) John Felton's murder of the Duke of Buckingham, and the dissolution of the Parliament of 1657-8 are only two of the passages where narrative and dramatic gifts are combined.(17) His chief wish for one reading about the Long Parliament is that "some dim image of a strange old scene may perhaps rise upon him."(18) Sometimes there are vivid touches of reality that give an almost photographic effect. Passages such as that describing Cromwell in Ely Cathedral in 1643 dealing with the (19) Choir -service are meant to have the same effect as Carlyle expected the letters to produce. They are written that the modern man "will gradually get to understand, as I have said, that the Seventeenth Century did exist, that it was not a waste rubbish-continent of Rushworth-Nelson State-papers, of Philosophical Scepticisms, Dilettantisms, Dryasdust Torpedoisms; - but an actual flesh-and-blood Fact;

with colour in its cheeks, with awful august heroic thoughts in its heart, and at last with steel sword in its hand!"(20) The fact remains that in these qualities already mentioned, along with his grasp of a situation, and his vivid projection into the past, Carlyle is greater as a historian than as a writer of an individual Life.

Approving of his sincerity and independence, it is in a dual capacity that Carlyle wishes to reveal Cromwell - as illuminating and representing the past, and as a heroic figure, with a divine message, in an age requiring faith and vision.

In that stupendous undertaking which occupied and darkened so many years of Carlyle's life, his History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great, there appear in greater degree both the virtues and the failings of the Life of Oliver Cromwell. Amongst the material employed are the numerous letters of Frederick, parts of Frederick's Lamentation Psalms, a mass of contemporary newspapers, such as the London Gazette and Gentleman's Magazine, and original papers, like the Hyndford Papers. It will be noted, however, that while the vivid, even comic elements, are taken from the Dickens State-Papers on the subject of the Homagings,(21) Carlyle will not inflict upon the reader the Peace of Dresden, saying that even the Editor did not find the reading of it pay; instead, he gives D'Arget's letter about the Peace of Dresden, because it lets us see into a chink of Frederick's mind, and anecdotes about Frederick at Dresden after the peace.(22) With the same desire for vividness, Carlyle chooses whenever possible the account of an eye-witness. For this reason, one of his favourite sources is the diary of Wilhelmina, which he employs for the coronation of Kaiser Karl VII at Frankfurt, because it is recorded "in a shrill human manner," of which he adds, "How welcome, in the murky puddle of Dryasdust, is any glimpse of a lively glib Wilhelmina, which we discern to be human."(23)

Partly by the choice of material, but still more by means of his own powerful historical imagination, Carlyle undoubtedly gives life to what he touches. The life of the past is ever present to him, for the Battle of Fontenoy starts "about the time when the ploughers



breakfast (eight A.M. no ploughing hereabouts today!)"(24) and in speaking of the view from Janus Hill near Rossbach, he mentions the town of Naumburg, visible on clear days, "as a smoke-cloud at certain hours, about meal-time, when the kettles are on boil."(25) On that tremendous canvas by a vivid detail here or there the figures stand out separately; to mention one only - Professor Wolf banished to Marburg "obliged to wear woollen shoes and leggings" and "bad at mounting stairs" becomes a rather pathetic human figure.(26) A third way in which life is given to the book is the dramatization of sections of the material. The terms for the Peace of Dresden in 1745 are expressed as if they were oral offers of Frederick to his beaten enemies.(27) In 1756 there is no abstract analysis of the part played by the various powers against France, but the motives of the nations are placed as words on their lips.(28) For the Battle of Leuthen, he puts in the form of a conversation with the soldiers Frederick's plan of campaign, incorporating the dialogue with the innkeeper when overtaking the defeated Austrians, who had retreated to Lissa, and adding to it a touch of pageantry by the singing of German hymns before the battle, and on the march from Saara, "Now thank we all our God."(29) One more cause of the vivid life of the book is Carlyle's intense interest in what is afoot.

These things notwithstanding, one cannot disagree with Carlyle when he calls the book a history, instead of a biography. Partly this is because Frederick is only the most important of the figures whom Carlyle calls back to life from the past. In the first volume the Brandenburgs, the Hohenzollerns, Frederick William, and the Double Marriage share with Frederick II Carlyle's attention. Indeed, while the old king, Frederick William occupies the stage, we feel that this vividly drawn figure is one whom Carlyle could have admired even more thoroughly than the actual subject of the book. Where father and son clash, Carlyle is on the side of Frederick William, and the qualities of character which Carlyle picks out are those he could most whole-heartedly respect - his thoroughness, his wild earnestness and fire, his desire for reform, his hatred of shams, his passion for work, his rustic simplicity and Spartan quality, and his

ability to drill a nation as Carlyle feels it should be drilled.(30) When he comes to Frederick himself, there are certain things for which Carlyle can respect him. Such solid achievements as his encouragement of science and philosophy, his policy of religious toleration, and freedom of the press, and his continuation of the military and administrative policy of his father are things which Carlyle can appreciate. In Frederick's clear sighted facing of the facts, and his attention to duty Carlyle also sees much to admire. Admiration, blended with pity, is aroused by Frederick's Stoicism which made him do what he felt to be right, without believing that Divine Justice would reward him personally. Even that part, however, which is biographical in quality is vitiated by Carlyle's determination to see in Frederick a heaven-sent agent to preserve the world from anarchy. Not only does this cause him to rejoice in Frederick's triumph over France, but to defend him for his treatment of Poland.(31) Although the closing scene of Frederick's life has a moving humanity, (32) the final impression is of the hero as King, and a Frederick who becomes a hero brings Carlyle perilously near the position that "Might is Right."

In 1848, there appeared a book by which Carlyle was provoked - the word is used advisedly - to the only true biography which he wrote. This was J.C. Hare's Memoirs of the Life of John Sterling prefaced to an edition of his Essays and Tales. Hare's knowledge of Sterling dated from 1824, when Sterling attended his classical lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge.(33) In 1833 Hare met Sterling at Bonn on the writer's way to Herstmonceaux, where Sterling was to be ordained as deacon and assist Hare till his health broke down in 1834.(34) The only other personal contact was two hours in London in 1843.(35) Because of the enormous use of letters to himself and others, because of the type of portrait attempted, and the point of view, this lack of personal intercourse does not matter so much as in an other kind of biography. A large proportion of the Memoir consists of letters to Hare, during the last sixteen years of Sterling's life, along with some to Mr. Trench and another friend, and in

the selection of these we are conscious of the ethical bias of the book. The letters of 1836, for example, tell of his plans for Discourses on Revelation and A Treatise on Ethics, his views on religious books he has been reading by Schiller, Schleiermacher, Mackintosh, and others, and his opinions on such subjects as Will and Reason, on Moral Law, and on the problem of sin and redemption.(36)

The only parts where the letters obtain a smaller proportion and are incorporated in the narrative are the sections dealing with the deaths of his mother and wife, and his own last days.(37) Apart from the ethical bias, the chief cause of the failure of this biography is the lack of an informing and creative power over the material.

Dissatisfied with Hare's Life, Carlyle produced in 1851 his Life of John Sterling. The greater width of his picture shows first of all in his seeing Sterling against the background of his time, with a sketch of the events in France, and the catastrophe of the Spanish patriot Torrijos.(38) Though the childhood of Sterling, especially at Llanbethian is described more fully than by Hare,(39) it is in the period of the letters that we have a greater variety still. The letters printed by Hare are supplemented by Sterling's family letters, and those to Carlyle. A much wider range of interest is thus seen to have been Sterling's, for they include a vivid letter from St.Vincent describing a West Indian tornado, an excellent criticism of Sartor Resartus, and an unexpectedly humorous account of his journey to Italy in 1838 for his health.(40) One can imagine Carlyle's appreciation of the fun when Sterling, writing to his mother about the image of Volto Santo, says, "I suppose it is by way of economy (they being a frugal people) that the Italians have their Common Prayer and their Arabian Nights' Entertainment condensed in one."(41) Amongst the most attractive of the purely domestic letters are the charming letter of paternal advice and affection to his son Edward in 1839, and the moving letters to his mother just before her death in 1843.(42)

In the letters, as in the narrative, Carlyle brings out Sterling's religious and spiritual development, but, unlike Hare, he regards



Sterling's period in the church as a mistake, breaking forth thus in characteristic fashion on the attacks of the heresy-hunters, "The noble Sterling, a radiant child of the empyrean, clad in bright auroral hues in the memory of all that knew him - what is he doing here in inquisitorial sanbenito, with nothing but ghastly spectralities prowling round him, and inarticulately screeching and gibbering what they call their judgment on him." (43) In addition, Carlyle traces Sterling's various attempts to find himself in literature, and discusses his different publications. While there are recurrent references to Sterling's health, and Carlyle shows how it caused frequent change of abode, and affected his career, he does not, like Hare, over-emphasise it, showing that Sterling's friends did not think of him as a confirmed invalid, but that his perpetual energy wore his frame into holes, and was the outward sign of his mental unrest. (44)

It is on the more intimate side that the book is strongest. We see Sterling amongst his friends, Coleridge, of whom Carlyle gives his own impression at Highgate, (45) the Rev. Mr. Dunn, (tactfully indicated as D. by Hare) (46) Carlyle himself (the B. of Hare's Life), Newman, the Quaker family of the Foxes, and members of his own family. (47), Every one of them stands out, but particularly do we see Sterling's thin figure, listen to his copious talk, and picture his swift eyes "which looked as if the spirits were all out coursing like a pack of merry eager beagles, beating every bush." (48) From his personal knowledge, he is able to give vivid little sketches of Sterling at different times, two of the best being of him at his home in Bayswater in 1835, and of the members of the Anonymous Club going home the night before Sterling left for Italy for his health, and taking turns of swinging Sterling's carpet-bag on Carlyle's stick. (49) By brief sketches, cumulative in effect, Carlyle gives us Sterling's scintillation of mind, his conversational power, his love of truth, his tremendous artistic ardour, and, at the end, a fund of mild Stoicism and heroic composure unsuspected even by his friends. This does not mean that we have none of Carlyle's

usual prophetic strain, for he sees Sterling as "a kingly kind of man" confronting Destinies and Immensities to unveil hypocrisy, but alone in the Life of Sterling does it fail to distract him from his chief biographical purpose. The measure of Carlyle's success is the reader's sympathy with his words about his parting with Sterling, a Sterling whom he has made real, "Softly as a common evening, the last of the evenings had passed away, and no other would come for me forevermore." (50)

- (1) Carlyle Rev., I, 117. (2) Carlyle Rev., I, 221, 230, 119-20.
- (3) Carlyle Rev., II, 118-9, III, 142. (4) Carlyle Rev., I, 120.
- (5) Carlyle Rev., II, 69. (6) Carlyle Rev., I, 157-70, III, 142-5.
- (7) Carlyle Rev., I, 185. (8) Carlyle Heroes, 165-6. (9) Carlyle Heroes, 119-2. (10) Carlyle Heroes, 110, 123-4, 134-5. (11) Carlyle Heroes, 147-50. (12) Carlyle Heroes, 170-3. (13) Carlyle Crom., II, 14-35. (14) Carlyle Crom., II, 166-7, III, 124-5. (15) Carlyle Crom., III, 28-9, 31-4. (16) Carlyle Crom., III, 34-8, 153-5. (17) Carlyle Crom., I, 54, V, 124-30. (18) Carlyle Crom., I, 95. (19) Carlyle Crom., I, 158-9. (20) Carlyle Crom., I, 68. (21) Carlyle Fred., IV, 36-7. (22) Carlyle Fred., VI, 120-6. (23) Carlyle Fred., V, 95-6. (24) Carlyle Fred., VI, 42. (25) Carlyle Fred., VII, 236. (26) Carlyle Fred., IV, 10. (27) Carlyle Fred., VI, 119. (28) Carlyle Fred., VIII, 14-26. (29) Carlyle Fred., VII, 275-85. (30) Carlyle Fred., I, 283-95. (31) Carlyle Fred., IX, 243, 281-311. (32) Carlyle Fred., X, 181-93. (33) Sterling, ix. (34) Sterling, xlvii. (35) Sterling, ccv. (36) Sterling, lx-xcviii. (37) Sterling, cciv-ccvii, ccxii-ccxviii. (38) Carlyle Ster., 22-3, 58-64. (39) Sterling, i-iii, Carlyle Ster., 14-8. (40) Carlyle Ster., 68-75, 95-103, 142-8. (41) Carlyle Ster., 147. (42) Carlyle Ster., 151-3, 214-6. (43) Carlyle Ster., 2. (44) Carlyle Ster., 136-8. (45) Carlyle Ster., 46-50. (46) Carlyle Ster., 113. (47) Carlyle Ster., 92, 162, 176-86. (48) Carlyle Ster., 93. (49) Carlyle Ster., 105-7, 141. (50) Carlyle Ster., 222-3.

## Chapter VIII.

James Anthony Froude.

Froude's Life of Bunyan - handling of material. Froude chosen as Carlyle's biographer. Froude as editor - Carlyle's Reminiscences; their biographical value. Attack upon Froude. Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle - value for domestic life. New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle - Froude's handling of material attacked. Life of Thomas Carlyle - material, selection, and handling. Carlyle and his wife; Carlyle's character. Further controversy. Wilson's Carlyle. Froude's Lord Beaconsfield. Life and Letters of Erasmus.

Even as the biographer Johnson found his Boswell, as Scott found Lockhart, so Carlyle found Froude to be his biographer, and became the subject of one of the great English biographies. Although James Anthony Froude is best known as a biographer by his Life of Carlyle, it was neither his first nor his last venture in that field. Under the auspices of the English Men of Letters Series, he wrote a biography, restricted thereby in scope, but quite characteristic, Bunyan. The first six chapters of the biography up to that entitled "The Bedford Gaol" give the outline of Bunyan's career to that point, Froude's method being that of using numerous quotations from the subject's work, particularly from Grace Abounding, and inserting explanatory links. The quotations are most numerous in the first four chapters, concluding "Call to the Ministry." As befits the purpose of the series, the next three chapters discuss, with illustrative extracts, Bunyan's best known works, The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, The Holy War, and The Pilgrim's Progress. The concluding chapter, dealing with Bunyan's last days, incorporates a brief sketch by a friend, then sums up what Froude regards as Bunyan's special characteristics. Of his permanent value to the world he says, "Men of intelligence, therefore, to whom life is not a theory, but a stern fact, conditioned round with endless possibilities of



wrong and suffering, though they may never again adopt the letter of Bunyan's creed, will continue to see in conscience an authority for which culture is no substitute; they will conclude that in one form or other responsibility is not a fiction but a truth."(1) In this does the disciple of Carlyle feel that the worth of the Pilgrim's Progress lies.

Although Bunyan's development is a spiritual one rather than an outward series of events, and lends itself especially to the method adopted by Froude, he does not allow the material to go simply of its own accord. After a sympathetic account of Bunyan's childhood, showing that his sensitive imagination exaggerates his boyish faults and tortures his conscience accordingly,(2) Froude gives a vivid picture of the crisis through which he passed.(3) Bunyan's conduct he proves to be judged, not as compared with the average young man of his day in Bedford, - and here we have a typical gibe at "Progress" - but from the standpoint of his Maker. We find Froude, too, picturing Bunyan against the background of the Civil War, though he is unable to decide whether or not Bunyan served in the army.(4) Another section of the book where we find interesting handling of the material is in the chapter "Conviction of Sin." After demonstrating that the Pilgrim's Progress is the record of Bunyan's spiritual struggle, Froude discusses the essential need for religion in the nature of man, and the various manifestations of this need. The (5) effect of the Puritan creed on Bunyan's character occupies him at this point, coloured as it is by personal experience; it is almost a cry from Froude's own heart when in a later section, dealing with Bunyan's trouble about the temptations of the Devil, he writes, "His belief in the active agency of the Devil in human affairs, of which he supposed that he had witnessed instances was no doubt a great help to him. If he could have imagined that his doubts or misgivings had been suggested by a desire for truth, they would have been harder to bear."(6) Still another section is that in which, after an easy narrative of the events leading up to Bunyan's arrest, Froude handles the accepted tradition of his ill-treatment. While Froude

will not condemn Bunyan, saying that he himself was the best judge of his circumstances, and of his conscience, he shows that those who had to administer the law against Dissenters did so with every consideration. His place of imprisonment he proves to have been such as to give scope for Bunyan's preaching activities, and its duration was only to save him from more severe consequences of his determination. Indeed, while suggesting that the hardships were real enough to Bunyan, he feels that without the leisure for thought and study of the Bible we should never have had the Pilgrim's Progress.<sup>(7)</sup> The blending of detachment and of sympathetic treatment makes this a very fair example of a new type of biography, now indispensable to the student of literature.

Having broken away from the influence of Newman and his circle, Froude became the disciple of Carlyle, whose attitude to History Froude so well exemplified in his own History. With the writing of his History of England, the bond between Froude and Carlyle strengthened, so that when Carlyle, in the period of intense suffering and loneliness following his wife's death, sought closer companionship with someone, it was to Froude that he turned. In 1871 his confidence, as Froude narrates in the Preface to Carlyle's Reminiscences, and as his fellow-executor Sir James Fitz-James Stephen corroborates in a long letter later to be printed in My Relations with Carlyle, caused Carlyle to bring to Froude a large parcel of private papers.<sup>(8)</sup> These included a sketch of his wife, two fragmentary accounts of herself and her family, a collection of her letters, and other notes. On these Carlyle wished Froude's judgment, and after discussion, it was decided to publish in ten years' time first the sketch then the letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle. By 1873, when it was obvious that Carlyle could not, on his death, escape a biography, he had chosen Froude for the task, supplied him with private journals, notebooks, letters, and other writings, and work on the papers had begun.<sup>(9)</sup> He was thus engaged on a three-fold task - to oversee the publication of the sketch of Mrs. Carlyle, to publish her letters, and to prepare the biography. A good part

of Volume II of the biography had been completed before Carlyle's death, and, in response to the suggestion of Sir James Stephen, Carlyle in his will bequeathed to his friend the Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, with the remark, "on all such points James Anthony Froude's practical summing up and decision is to be taken as mine." (10)

In fulfilment of his promise, and with what seemed to some people indecent haste, Froude in 1881 published the Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle. Now, while this work is not biography, it touches so closely Froude's biographical labour, that some discussion of it cannot be avoided. The publication of these and of the letters of Mrs. Carlyle was to condition what Froude was to include in his other work in the shape of material, while his handling of his editorial task throws light on how he regarded his biographical one. Feeling that the Reminiscences were too valuable to be incorporated in the biography, Froude published in the first volume the memoirs of James Carlyle and of Edward Irving, and in the second those of Lord Jeffrey, Jane Welsh Carlyle, and Southey and Wordsworth. In themselves, these reminiscences have a double interest, and pave the way for the biography. First there are the scattered opinions of Carlyle, expressed with his usual vigour, on a great variety of people. These may be people of little public interest, such as the Rev. Mr. Martin and his family, friends of Edward Irving in Kirkcaldy, Carlyle's poor opinion of the eldest daughter and Irving's fiance being undisguised. (11) Then there are people like Dr. Chalmers, whose fame has become somewhat dimmed, of whom Carlyle's first opinion is of liking, without much admiration, though later he was to think more highly of Chalmers. (12) There is also the group where Carlyle shows at his least understanding, his opinions on contemporary men of genius, such as Lamb and Shelley. (13) Secondly, and even of greater value is the autobiographical element. The memoir of James Carlyle, for example, gives incomparably vivid pictures of Carlyle's father and mother, with his debt to the former of character and education, and to the latter of a sympathy which never failed him. (14) His pride in them both can



be seen in numerous remarks and we feel it is no formal filial piety when he says, "Thank heaven I know and have known what it is to be a son." (15) In the memoir of Edward Irving of Autumn 1866, we are given an even fuller picture of Carlyle's past life - his schooldays, his teaching career, with, in the latter, his delightful excursions with Irving from Kirkcaldy, and a brief miserable sketch of the time thereafter on Edinburgh of which he writes, "I was without friends, experience, or connection in the sphere of human business, was of shy humour, proud enough and to spare, and had begun my long curriculum of dyspepsia which has never ended since." (16) From then on, we touch on numerous episodes in Carlyle's life up to his removal to 5 Cheyne Row, and an account of Irving's visit to them. (17) In the next in point of time, Lord Jeffrey, besides his first impressions of Edinburgh and his first contact with Jeffrey, two of the most interesting sections deal with his married life at "Comley Bank", and with life at Craigenputtock, where are described a visit of the Jeffreys and the difficulty of procuring good servants. (18) Starting from the series of stories told by Geraldine Jewsbury at Carlyle's (19) request, The Memoir of Jane Welsh Carlyle, after supplementing that material, proceeds to describe Carlyle's life from his marriage. While there is some repetition of material, as in the visit of Jeffrey to Craigenputtock, (20) it provides a most valuable addition to our knowledge of Carlyle's life. In particular, there is dramatic intensity and beauty in the closing section from Mrs. Carlyle's accident, her appearance at the drawing-room door, when she had, for his sake, made a supreme effort to rise, (21) through the agony of her illness, to the sunset close of her life during the rectorial triumph. (22)

Regarded by itself, Froude's publication of the Reminiscences is important as indicating what was to be Froude's attitude to Carlyle's married life. In this, two notes are struck strongly - first, that, despite his rugged exterior, for his wife Carlyle had a deep and passionate love, whose quality he did not fully realise till he was left alone. Characteristic of this strain is Carlyle's remark on the taking of 5 Cheyne Row in his Edward Irving, "Why do I

write all this! It is too sad to me to think of it, broken down and solitary as I am, and the lamp of my life, which 'covered everything with gold' as it were gone out, gone out!"(23) The second note is Carlyle's remorse for not showing his wife more consideration which would have eased life for her, and made his expiation unnecessary. In his introduction to New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle edited by Alexander Carlyle, Sir James Crichton Browne claims that Carlyle uses the word "remorse" where no serious sin is involved, as in his retrospect on his lectures, and that we must discount much because of his well-known tendency to exaggerate, a tendency here made stronger by the regret of an affectionate and generous nature.(24) The fact remains, however, that Carlyle on various occasions expresses "remorse" in its normally accepted sense. He feels it, for example, for his egotism in talking to her of the Battle of Mollwitz when she was lying in weak health, superficially bright, but believing herself to be dying.(25) Such unavailing regret he sums up in such comments as that on her refusal to give him up when he was in ill-health and finding work difficult, "Alas, her love was never completely known to me, and how celestial it was till I had lost her. 'O for five minutes more of her.' I have often said, since April last, to tell her what perfect love and admiration, as of the beautifullest of known human souls, I did intrinsically always regard her! But all minutes of the time are inexorably past; be wise, all ye living, and remember that time passes and does not return."(26)

So great was the outcry created by the Reminiscences from those who had regarded Carlyle as the prophet of Chelsea, and discovered that he was an entirely human, if more interesting, man of genius, that Carlyle's niece, formerly Mary Aitken, now Mrs. Alexander Carlyle, determined if possible to prevent the publication of the biography. Already she had persuaded Froude into a promise to return to her, when he had finished with them, all Carlyle's papers save those explicitly bequeathed to him, and by a course of persecution to obtain some financial benefit from the publication of the Reminiscences,

she was to wound Froude more deeply than he cared to show; but for our purpose, the important thing is that by Froude's fulfilment of his promise he put it in the power of Carlyle's niece to show how he had exercised his editorial function. The Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle, edited for her by C.E. Norton in 1887, apart from the rearrangement of the memoirs, those on James Carlyle and Jane Welsh Carlyle being placed in the first volume and the rest in Volume II, was the first of a series of publications to discredit Froude as editor and biographer. In the Preface, C.E. Norton makes a charge of which Froude had been accused before and of which he was to be accused again - inaccuracy so flagrant as to deserve a new name, "Froudacity." There he writes, "The first edition of the Reminiscences was so carelessly printed as frequently to do grave wrong to the sense. The punctuation, the use of capitals and italics in the manuscript characteristic of Carlyle's method of expression in print, was entirely disregarded. In the first five pages of the printed text there were more than a hundred and thirty corrections to be made of words, punctuation, capitals, quotation marks and such like; and these pages are not exceptional." (28) If this is strictly true, Froude is hardly likely to be a trustworthy biographer, when he had to deal with so much more material.

A comparison of these five pages, however, shows the extent of Froude's alterations. He has omitted capitals placed by Carlyle at common nouns, adjectives, adverbs and other parts of speech; for Carlyle's liberal use of semi-colon and colon Froude has substituted comma and period, commas always replacing brackets. Sometimes also, italics are omitted by Froude when they are not really required for emphasis. Slight variations in paragraph divisions appear; (29) indeed the only important difference is Froude's printing of "even" where Norton has the word "ever" about Carlyle's parting from his father. (30) As Norton's statement about these five pages not being exceptional is justified by a comparison, it can be seen that, however much the public might be deceived by the accusation, Froude had subjected Carlyle's work to no violence. A further comparison



shows a few interesting divergences, the greatest number occurring in the Memoir of Jane Welsh Carlyle. Norton, for example, prints in full a letter from Carlyle to Geraldine Jewsbury with his comment on her reminiscences, "Few or none of these Narratives are correct in all the details; some of them, in almost all the details are incorrect;" Froude, without showing that it is from a letter, makes Carlyle say of Geraldine's account of Mrs. Carlyle, "Few or none of these narratives are correct in details, but there is a certain mythical truth in all or most of them." (31) The difference is significant, in view of the different value placed by Froude and the Carlyles on evidence supplied by Geraldine Jewsbury. In one case obviously the accuracy is with Froude rather than with Norton. In Carlyle's reference to Friedrich, Norton makes him write, "her applause (should not I collect her fine Notekins and reposit them here?) was beautiful and as sunlight to me, - for I knew it was sincere withal, and unerringly straight upon the blot, however exaggerated by her great love of me;" this Froude renders, "her blame was unerringly straight upon the blot, her applause (should not I collect her fine notekins and reposit them here?) was beautiful and as sunlight to me, for I knew it was sincere withal, however exaggerated by her great love of me." (32) In one place alone is Norton's emendation valuable, in the Southey memoir, where Carlyle's remark about Taylor who introduced them mentions his "marked veracity, in all senses of that deep-reaching word;" Froude's version "morbid vivacity" is clearly a mis-reading. (33)

A second accusation made by Norton is that Froude cut insufficiently remarks made by Carlyle calculated to give pain to the living and of no interest to the reader. He himself sets out to remedy the defect, but we find that his additional omissions, such as a comment on Charlotte Jeffrey, are trifling. (34) Carlyle's comments on such public figures as Disraeli are retained, and it is extremely doubtful whether Carlyle's reputation has suffered more from what he said about Charlotte Jeffrey, or from his unfair and unkind remark about Charles Lamb, a remark Norton does not think it

necessary to suppress.(35)

In his printing of the Reminiscences, Norton is careful to include a passage omitted by Froude, where Carlyle envisages the finding of his note-book after his death, and says, "In which event, I solemnly forbid them each and all, to publish this Bit of Writing as it stands here; and warn them that without fit editing no part of it should be printed (nor so far as I can order, shall ever be); - and that the 'fit editing' of perhaps nine-tenths of it will after I am gone, have become impossible. T.C. (Saturday, 28th July, 1866)" (36) His inclusion of this instruction by Carlyle is deliberate, for it is meant to be the foundation of a case which represents Froude as the confidant of a lonely old man, whose injunctions he disobeys, and whose character he blackens as soon as Carlyle is dead. As far as this charge concerns the whole of Froude's work, it will be discussed when we come to the biography. Of the Reminiscences, however, it will be noted that after the period of five years had elapsed the papers were actually given to Froude, Carlyle had by discussion virtually cancelled the written prohibition, and, had it been his fixed wish, he could have destroyed the papers himself, making their publication impossible. Froude in editing the Reminiscences clearly felt that he was doing what Carlyle wished done, but if he himself had done it, the action might have been misconstrued.(37) Finally, along with Froude's guiding principle of loyalty to Carlyle's wishes as he knew them, must be taken the fact that the innocence of his intention is seen by his leaving intact, for other eyes to see, Carlyle's prohibition.

In point of time, Froude's next publication was the two volumes of the Life of Thomas Carlyle covering the period of his life from 1795 to 1835. In order, however, to take together the whole of the biography, it seems better to discuss here the second part of Froude's work, the editing of Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle. About the letters of his wife, Carlyle seems to have been in the same doubt as about the publication of the Reminiscences. There, after reading her letters of 1857, he writes, "I have asked myself,

Ought all this to be lost, or kept for myself, and the brief time that now belongs to me? Can nothing of it be saved, then, for the worthy that still remain among these roaring myriads of profane unworthy? I really must consider it farther." (38) With Froude's acquisition of the papers of Carlyle and of his wife, undoubtedly Carlyle did "consider farther." Only with the posthumous publication in 1903 by Froude's family of My Relations with Carlyle, the final defence of his conduct, was the full story of his task made known. There the reader is told of his decision in the biography to suppress Mrs. Carlyle's letters, and of the first volume's being written to fit in with the Reminiscences generally. Three months before Carlyle died, he asked what Froude meant to do with the Letters and Memorials, and, lacking the courage to say that he had changed his mind, he found himself committed to their publication; but if the public were to know what Mrs. Carlyle thought of her husband, justice demanded that the Memoir also should be published. Thus the Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle became part of Froude's material for his complete study of Carlyle. (39)

These volumes, published in 1883, are indeed to be regarded not separately but along with the others in the series. Though Carlyle's introduction describing his arrival in London repeats material already printed elsewhere, it is Froude's general intention to avoid repetition of what has been published either in the Reminiscences or in the first two volumes of the Life. Though covering some of the same ground as the section of the Reminiscences dealing with Mrs. Carlyle's accident, Carlyle's introduction to the letters of the period describes in more vivid and dramatic fashion the evenings before it; so, too, the course of her illness and sufferings is described in more detail, though he omits the part in the Reminiscences where she feared for her reason.

Because of much of the material's having been prepared by Carlyle himself, the parts written by him give the special quality of autobiography. It may be that his introduction or footnote explains the typical "family-speech" or joke implied in Jane's letter;



some explain the people or circumstances referred to, and are supplemented by Carlyle's own reminiscences; sometimes a note before a letter records his own activity at the time, or contains a laudatory or mournful comment suggestive of those interjected in the Reminiscences. The letters of the Frederick period record his difficulties, while his comments show pain at his own obtuseness, combined with admiration of his wife's gallantry.(40) Between her letter of Sept. 16, 1863, and that of Oct. 20 1863 comes Carlyle's poignant narrative of her accident, the pain suffered, but not fully realised by him, her surprise appearance at the drawing-room door, then relapse into pain and illness.(41) Another fairly long introduction describes the period of so-called convalescence at St. Leonards.(42) At certain points Froude adds his own quota of biographical material; for example, he supplements what Carlyle passes over, the burning of the first manuscript volume of the French Revolution.(43) His most important additions are the sections about Lady Ashburton, before and after the extracts from Mrs. Carlyle's Journal.(44)

In actual material from the pen of Mrs. Carlyle, there are two pieces of imaginative work sent to Sterling, the letters, and two selections from her note-books, which were however in the main destroyed by herself - the first of 1845 including her rescue of the lost child, the second 1855 to June 1856 at the Ashburton period, and designed to show her state of mind.(45) Even with editorial selection, Froude lets us see the great number of her correspondents. Though most are to Carlyle, during his or her absence from Chelsea, or when both are away, there are also a considerable number to members of his family, Mrs. Carlyle, Dr. John Carlyle, and others, to her Liverpool relations, to London friends, such as Sterling, and to people who have been firm friends such as Mrs. Russell of Thornhill, later of Holm Hill.

Undoubtedly by the publication of these letters Froude gave to English literature something of intrinsic value, but here their chief interest is for the light they shed on their author. The first characteristic is her fondness for "family-speech" and expressions

belonging to an anecdote or known to be a quotation of a friend, expressions usually chosen for their humour or an odd appropriateness. In a letter to Mrs. Carlyle, for example, Jane quotes the mother's reference to "long, sprawling, ill-put together" children like her son Tom promising to be "gey ill to deal wi'." (46) Mazzini's expressions such as "cares of bread," "thanks God," and "what shall I say? strange upon my honour" seem to have been special favourites. Secondly, there is running through the letters a characteristic humorous or satiric touch both at Carlyle's expense and her own; of this kind are her amusing suggestions of how Carlyle would address his audience in his lectures, and even at the end her teasing of Carlyle on getting into the habit of being worshipped, and the difficulty he will have in keeping it up at home, when he returns after his Lord Rector's address. (47) Thirdly, we realise the way in which the letters act as a safety valve for her complaints - the way in which Carlyle's worries rest on her, the trouble caused by servants, and Carlyle's intransigence in 1843 over the change of library and his other domestic intractabilities, especially when in the labours of composition, form only some of these. (48) What must not, however, be forgotten is her power, one suspects a little overlooked by Froude, to tell a vivid narrative and dramatise the scene she is describing, sometimes with Carlyle's own exaggeration. One of the best examples of this is her account to Carlyle in 1845 of how she has induced the neighbour to quieten his dog which has been disturbing her husband's sleep. (49)

Were the letters, however, only printed to show the quality of mind of Carlyle's wife, they could be omitted from this study. Their main value for us, as Froude realised, is their biographical one. First of all, they let us see Carlyle's character through the eyes of his wife - his inability to keep to time in his work, his hatred of domestic commotions, though causing them himself, his hasty decisions, his dislike of sentimentality yet his warmth of heart, and her conviction of his inability to look after himself. Of the effect on Carlyle of his writing, he himself could not have

bettered this description. It occurs in a letter to Mrs. Stirling in 1843, "The fact is the thing he has got to write - his long projected life of Cromwell - is no joke, and no sort of room can make it easy, and he has been ever since shifting about in the saddest way from one room to another, like a sort of domestic wandering Jew!"(50) That she understood some at least of the divers strands in his nature can be seen from a letter to Margaret Welsh in 1842 where she mentions Carlyle's buying a birthday present on the first occasion after her mother's death, "In great matters he is always kind and considerate; but these little attentions, which we women attach so much attention to, he was never in the habit of rendering to anyone; his up-bringing, and the severe turn of mind he has from nature, had alike indisposed him towards them. And now the desire to replace to me the irreplaceable makes him as good in little things as he used to be in great."(51)

Her own character is also revealed by comment and incident. Amongst her qualities we see her domestic thrift and energy, her desire for independent recognition and affection, her tenderness to anything weak and in need of protection, be it a lost child, a dog, a cat, or even a plant, her affectionate remembrance and generosity to old servants, her strong sense of her duty to care for and protect Carlyle, her nervous irritability and melancholy, her hatred of cant and religiosity, yet in suffering her fortitude and reliance on God. Carlyle's married life and his work could not be properly understood, did we not know his wife also.

The third thing which the volumes contribute is a picture of their domestic life; how familiar do their domestic upheavals become, the cloud of loneliness and depression which overhangs the house during his periods of composition, and their way of living, with their fondness for such simple Scottish foods as meal and eggs. Again, we realise the constant factor of her ill-health in their married life. Her intolerable headaches, her struggles to keep afoot, her difficulties in sleeping, her violent colds and influenzas, with later nervous fevers, rheumatism, and later still the agonies of



of neuralgia induced by her accident of 1864 appear as elements which must be borne in mind in our final summing-up. One begins to understand the impatience which did not spare Carlyle a "shrewing" when one realises that in a little more than a fortnight she was writing, "When I look at my white, white face in the glass, I wonder how anybody can believe I am fancying." (52) Most important of all for what was to follow, is the knowledge which these letters supply of the relationship between Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle. Significant in this direction are their habit of writing daily letters to one another, and her association with him in his work, her pride in his ability and achievement. An important section deals with Mrs. Carlyle's attitude to the Ashburton friendship, with her feeling that, by her ill-health and her inability to adjust herself to all his changing moods, she is a burden to him. Even as early as 1835, we find her writing to him, "Try all that ever you can to be patient and good-natured with your povera piccola Gooda, and then she loves you, and is ready to do anything on earth that you wish; to fly over the moon, if you bade her. But when the signor della casa has neither kind look nor word for me, what can I do but grow desperate, fret myself to fiddlestrings, and be a torment to society in every direction?" (53) At the very worst, we find her constant planning for his pleasure and comfort, and on the other hand, when he realised her suffering, he showed unwearied gentleness and consideration. Shocked though some readers might be, we feel, in spite of all, the constant basis of their affection; Carlyle is to her "dearest husband of me," and "dear Ill; with whatever difficulty, she must write to him so as not to "vaix" him, and when in 1844 after a fear that it would not come, she receives a letter asking about a birthday present, she replies, "So write me a longer letter than usual, and leave presents to those whose affection stands more in need of vulgar demonstration than yours does." (54) Clouded over for a time it might be, but because of its fundamental quality, this affection was to return in calm beauty, illuminating even the agony of her illness, and giving to her last days a loving pride in his success.

With this part also of Froude's work, a later publication enables us to see what he accomplished. New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, edited by Alexander Carlyle, and appearing in 1903, does add a little to the material provided, though less than one would imagine from the statement that with six exceptions the letters are new or have before been printed only in part. The reason is in the unwilling admission that they are residual in quality, for Froude selected from Mrs. Carlyle's writings "whatever was of most literary merit or popular interest." (55) Amongst those included, some of which were prepared by Carlyle from his wife's papers for publication, are seventeen previous to those printed by Froude, whose Letters and Memorials begin with the London period. Of particular interest is one of Carlyle's introductions in this group, describing his home at Hoddam Hill, and Jane Welsh's visit to it. (56) Of the Journals, he stresses the fact that there were two, from 21st Oct. 1855 to April 14th 1856, and from April 15th to 5th July 1856. Carlyle discovered at first only the second, and, removing the cover, put it with his own Jane Welsh Carlyle, following the words, "seek where I may." Instead, therefore, of printing the second notebook prepared by Carlyle, Froude chose most from the first notebook found later. Alexander Carlyle's choice was different, and he claimed to print the second notebook "as it stands and stood" when it came into his possession. (57) Though he, no more than Froude fulfilled that promise, as both omitted the reference by Mrs. Carlyle to the "blue marks" on her arm, showing that on one occasion her husband resorted to physical violence, (58) Alexander Carlyle's obvious intention was to discredit Froude as a witness to Carlyle's character.

In so far as these volumes constitute an attack on the general position adopted by Froude in the Life, they must be discussed there, but Alexander Carlyle buttresses his charge by a condemnation of Froude's treatment of the material in the Letters and Memorials. It must be admitted that an occasional inaccuracy rewards his research; in July 1843, for example, he shows that Froude printed from a letter of the 5th a sentence about Carlyle's dislike of cleanings, dating it

4th July; the letter following should be dated 7th July, Froude's date of 18th July being impossible because of a reference to Carlyle's projected gift of an umbrella for her birthday on 14th July.(59) Froude then prints an undated extract from a letter of 8th July, but making it follow the one dated by him 18th July.(60) The note to Letter 74 brings out the point that on 20th Aug.1846 Carlyle received two letters from his wife; to these he replied the same day. Though Froude had the letter, part was omitted in Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, the rest being dated 26th Aug., and suggesting delay on Carlyle's part in replying, "a very characteristic example of 'Froudulency'", as the note concludes.(61) Not only, however, is Froude's accuracy assailed, but there is a determined attempt to discredit his interpretation of the facts, and his handling of the material. For this purpose the footnotes and introductions afford regular opportunities. In a footnote to a letter of 23rd Sept.1847 comes the remark, "It is difficult to say whether the 'suppressio veri' or the 'suggestio falsi' is the more abundant in Mr.Froude's Life of Carlyle. There is enough and to spare of the one and the other! Our counsel is 'Out of the window with it, he that would know Thomas Carlyle! Keep it awhile, he that would know James Anthony Froude.'"(62)

With this same purpose, Alexander Carlyle selects letters showing that in 1846 Mrs.Carlyle speaks of Lady Harriet Baring, whom she is visiting at Addiscombe, as clever, loveable, and easy to live with, and that the year before, Carlyle dissuaded rather than urged a long visit to Addiscombe.(63) In particular, there are included letters suggesting Jane's low opinion of Geraldine Jewsbury. For example, in a letter to John Forster January 1848, we find a strong condemnation of Geraldine's book, and a remark that she has no sense of duty and has a total lack of common sense. To Carlyle and to Mrs.Russell also there are letters scornful of Miss Jewsbury's silly jealousy, her lack of balance over her love-affairs, and her tendency to exaggerate everything including Mrs.Carlyle's illness.(64) In the circumstances, he stresses the absurdity of Froude's going to



her for the solution of his difficulties, especially when her evidence conflicted with that of both Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle. Here, however, it may be noted that almost all of her acquaintance, at one time or another, aroused the scorn and wrath of Mrs. Carlyle, and that one must not accept a passing comment as her fixed opinion; secondly, had Carlyle considered as worthless what Geraldine Jewsbury had to say, it is hardly likely that he would have used what she wrote in the Memoir of Jane Welsh Carlyle. It is now time, however, to turn from these preliminaries to the Life of Thomas Carlyle itself, and to try to explain the abuse which was piled upon it, for almost forty years from its publication.

Although Froude, in the biography of Carlyle, drew a dividing line at his removal to London, and though the editing of Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle provided a break between the first two, and the third and fourth volumes, they should not be discussed save as a unity. First of all we must consider the material employed by Froude. From a chronological point of view, the first of Froude's sources is Carlyle's Reminiscences, and from these volumes he draws at intervals throughout the first half of the biography. For Carlyle's ancestry and his early education, James Carlyle is employed, while for the University period these extracts are supplemented from the memoirs on Edward Irving and Lord Jeffrey. So, too, for the Kirkcaldy appointment, his life there and other points of Carlyle's connection with Irving, the Edward Irving is used. (65) On the other hand, the Scotsbrig period before his marriage and the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle in London are from the material in Jane Welsh Carlyle. (66) It will be noted, however, that though Froude summarises from the Reminiscences, and even breaks the narrative with quotation, he is careful not to overlap further than is absolutely necessary on material printed in full. His attitude he thus expresses in dealing with Carlyle's period at Kirkcaldy, when he says that he will only refer to the Reminiscences, "But they can be read in their place, and there is much else to tell; my business is to supply what is left untold rather than give over again what has

been told already." (67) These personal reminiscences are supplemented by quotations from Sartor Resartus, illustrating Carlyle's education and spiritual development, because he himself had admitted in them a mythical truth, especially the part entitled The Everlasting Nay. (Here it will be noted the distinction made by Carlyle between a half-truth and mythical truth, the quality he was prepared to assign to Miss Jewsbury's recollections of Mrs. Carlyle.) (68) To these Froude is also able to add, from notes written by Carlyle explicitly for biographical purposes. Again later, we find Froude using extracts from an Essay on Spiritual Optics, and another MS. to show Carlyle's spiritual development by 1828. (69)

From the pens of other people comes miscellaneous material inserted by Froude at the most useful points. A note-book of Jane Welsh comes under levy at the time when she first crosses his path, and for the year 1833 Froude is able to employ Emerson's account of his visit to the Carlyles at Craigenputtock, valuable because, for the first part of Carlyle's life it is the only passage by a detached outsider. (70)

By far the largest proportion of Froude's material is epistolary or in journal form. Of this section of material in turn, the larger share is written by Carlyle himself, but certain principles seem to govern the selection of the other letters. Some are letters chosen for the light shed on Carlyle's character, some to show the impression he made on others; then there are those which deal with his state of mind and general activities, such letters being chosen in the absence of corresponding letters from Carlyle himself. A few also are included to give a picture of Carlyle's relationships with others, or because they are needed to explain letters written by Carlyle. Let us illustrate these various types. As early as 1814 we find a letter from Hill showing the impression made on Carlyle's Annandale contemporaries; (71) again, since Carlyle's letters to Irving, the repository of his troubles and his stalwart encourager, have been lost, Froude shows Irving writing to Carlyle, unhappy at Mainhill. Here we find Irving giving advice as to how Carlyle

could make more of himself, analysing his character, and predicting greatness for him. How well he knew his friend can be seen from such a remark as this, "Known you must be before you can be employed. Known you will not be for a winning, attaching, accommodating man, but for an original, commanding and rather self-willed man." (73) Later in Carlyle's life, we find letters showing how he was regarded by such different people as Goethe, John Sterling, whose farewell letter of Aug. 10th 1844 he reprints from Carlyle's Life of Sterling, Peel who expresses gratitude for a copy of Cromwell, and Disraeli offering Carlyle a pension and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath in 1874. (74)

The largest number of letters not by Carlyle himself are those by members of his family. Beginning with a letter from his father in 1817 to Carlyle at Kirkcaldy, and following it with letters from his mother, his brother John, perhaps his most regular correspondent, Alexander, and Mary, Froude gives us a series of family letters letting us see their care and concern for him, the strong, warm family affection, and the affairs which most occupied them. Even as late as 1835, Froude uses, amidst an abundance of other material, a letter from Carlyle's mother to show what manner of woman she was, and on July 19th 1840 one more from her is added to the series. (75) Though comparatively small in number, the letters which Froude includes from the pen of Jane Welsh in the first half of the biography are of peculiar interest; for amongst them are the letters to Mrs. Carlyle and Jane Carlyle, with Carlyle's introductions, after the visit to Hoddam Hill, and that to Mrs. George Welsh, in which, after paying her personal tribute to his purity, his family virtues, his splendid gifts, and the noble use he has made of them, Carlyle's future wife writes, "he possesses all the qualities I deem essential in my husband - a warm true heart to love me, a towering intellect to command me, and a spirit of fire to be the guiding star of my life." (76) Before this, too, have come the letters in which we see the modification of Jane's feeling from the time in 1823 when, admitting her love, she yet says, "Your friend I will be.....but your wife never," to the



stage when, urged on by Mrs. Montagu's interference, she decides to accept Carlyle, and all that remains to be argued out is where and how they shall set up house.(77) In the second part of the biography, Froude makes, from the nature of the case, fuller use of Jane Welsh Carlyle's letters, but with care to avoid wherever possible what he has printed in Letters and Memorials. In the Letters and Memorials there had been only one letter from her pen from Dec.30,1854 to July 3,1856, but instead extracts from her diaries of 1855 and 1856. In the Life, Froude supplies new material by printing "Jane's Missive on the Budget", Feb.12,1855, her witty and business-like, but also pathetic account of her finances addressed to Carlyle, till then oblivious of the straits to which she was reduced.(78)

As has been indicated, however, Carlyle himself supplies the largest number of letters. The earliest of all is to Murray in August 1814, but with March 1817, begins the series of letters to those members of his family who have been mentioned as his correspondents.(79) In these we see how Carlyle revealed himself to his relations. To his mother the outstanding element is his moral earnestness, his desire to convince her of their fundamental resemblance in religion, and to allay her anxiety about his spiritual and physical well-being. Thus does he comment to his father on his mother's uneasiness about his health, "But by this time she must be beginning to understand me; to know that when I shout 'murder,' I am not always being killed. The truth is, complaint is the natural resource of uneasiness, and I have none that I care to complain to, but you."(80) On the other hand, when affairs had gone badly with him in 1831, we find letters to his brother John making the best of the situation, and concealing his mental and spiritual struggles.(81) From 1822, Carlyle's literary work becomes increasingly one subject of his letters, and from 1823, growing in size and frequency, come the extracts from the letters to Miss Welsh, culminating in the series of 1826 just before their marriage. From then on, there occur letters in groups, those for example in his six months in London in 1831, a beautiful series of 1832 to his mother and brother

on his father's death, and the family letters from London in 1834.(82) These family letters, with their constant record of his doings, health, social events, and his solicitude for his mother, continue to his last letter to her of Dec.4,1853, and the many letters to his brother John show that their deep understanding and sympathy remained unbroken, even when, from the powerlessness of his right hand, he had to depend on his niece Mary Aitken as scribe.(83)

Naturally the number of letters to his wife increases. From 1841, we have groups of letters to her when, on the completion of work, he required a change to the houses of friends or of his own people; at other times we find a series of letters when she was left at Cheyne Row to do some necessary cleaning, or when her own health made a holiday at Liverpool, Edinburgh, or Thornhill necessary. Perhaps amongst the best groups are those, with their fine poetic quality, from Templeland at the time of Mrs.Welsh's death, those describing his tours in Germany in connection with Frederick The Great, and the devoted, tender ones after his wife's accident in 1864.(84) Together, the letters give a detailed account of all the things which made up his external life, and some of his feelings and reactions as well.

For these last, however, Froude's best source is Carlyle's various journals. Beginning with the Journal written at Kinnaird, when there with the Bullers in 1823, Froude draws regularly from this source, and is thereby able to add to the letters from London during the Sartor Resartus visit, and to those written from Craigenputtock.(85) Throughout, we find Froude using Carlyle's note-books for his reading, his mental states, his opinions, and the progress of his work. As the years advance, we find Carlyle adding his domestic worries, resolutions, and penitences, and, after his wife's death, using the Journal as an outlet for his grief, and expressing in it his renewal of faith in God, his defiance of atheism, and the faint hope of personal immortality. Well might Froude say of Dec.6,1873,"From this time his hand failed him entirely, and the private window that opened into his heart was closed up."(86)

With such ample written material, one is apt to overlook the fact that this biography was written by Carlyle's intimate friend. In the first half of the Life, this element of personal knowledge is naturally small, being confined to such remarks as his reference to Mrs. Carlyle's skill as a hostess at Comely Bank from his recollection of her in this capacity at Cheyne Row.(87) In the second part, Froude tells how, after realising Carlyle's worth, he came into contact with Carlyle as a historian, so that in 1849 it was with the greatest possible interest he accompanied James Spedding to Cheyne Row. Here comes a very vivid picture of both Carlyle and his wife, the most striking impression being their love of truth.(88) From this point, Froude intersperses a number of facts which, from hearing Carlyle frequently speak of them, Froude knows had greatly impressed him. It is from his own knowledge, too, that he describes Carlyle's home life. Though aware of Mrs. Carlyle's loneliness and ill-health, he was convinced of her husband's essential goodness. From 1864, the biography is more the record of personal intercourse, and is based less on written memorials such as letters, diaries, and autobiographic fragments.(89) Thus he is able to supplement from his own observation what Carlyle has recorded in Letters and Memorials of Mrs. Carlyle's accident, and to recall the evening spent with him in the autumn of 1865, when Mrs. Carlyle's health seemed to be improving.(90) Two other parts are of special interest, his account of how Carlyle laid upon him the task he is now courageously completing, and his account of the daily intercourse which ended only with Carlyle's death.(91)

In all this the element of anecdote is noticeably small, almost the only group of these coming at the end of Carlyle's life. Partly these are to illustrate what others, such as even the bus-driver, thought of the aged author,(92) and partly to give a picture of his ways and character, drawn from Froude's own knowledge.

Like Lockhart, Froude preferred to confine himself as much as possible to his subject's words in letters and journals, for, as he wrote, "To report correctly the language of conversations, especially



when extended over a wide period, is almost an impossibility. The listener, in spite of himself, adds something of his own in colour, form, or substance."(93)

In Froude's selection of his material, one of his main cares was to avoid repetition of what had been previously printed. Though he refers to the Reminiscences as a picture of their life at Comely Bank, he prints rather the letters of the period.(94) Sometimes he gives a footnote referring to the Letters and Memorials, or summarises the material of a letter to which Carlyle is replying. One occasion on which Froude is forced to summarise is with the letters of Jeffrey. As these were not available for printing in extenso, he included them thus because of the regard they express for Carlyle.(95) A third point to be noticed is Froude's keen sense of relevance. The figure of Mrs. Basil Montagu is introduced only for the reason that she affected Carlyle's engagement; but whatever will give added knowledge about Carlyle, he includes. Thus we find him linking up with a summary, extracts from Miss Fuller's account of a visit paid by her to Carlyle in 1846 because they let us see him and his friends through the eyes of a clever outsider.(96)

In Froude's handling of his material two processes in particular are seen to be at work - the summarising of material, while the most important parts are inset as quotations, and the blending of various types of material to produce for different periods of Carlyle's life an organic whole. Although Froude will not print many of Carlyle's letters to Miss Welsh, because, as he says, they are in their nature private, he handles very skillfully the material for 1825-26. He incorporates letters, inserts a comment at an important point, stresses the features of Carlyle's character revealed at this stage in his career, and after a fine vindication of Carlyle's qualities, and achievements, he rounds off the narrative with these words, "So the long drama came to its conclusion."(97) One of the most characteristic and varied sections is that dealing with the period from Mrs. Carlyle's accident. First, there is a brief narrative, passing lightly over what is already known, and including anecdotes to show Carlyle's

want of perception of the seriousness of her illness, with the reason for her concealment; now comes a description of an evening spent with her in November; an extract now shows Carlyle's late realisation when her illness becomes worse; the narrative of her departure to St. Leonards and the time there is compressed, but a number of extracts from letters cover her flight to Scotland and the period till her return to Cheyne Row; then follows a description of her homecoming and the completion of "Frederick." (98) In the year 1866, comes a description of Carlyle's departure, with appropriate quotations, for his rectorial visit to Edinburgh; the Edinburgh visit now follows, with a summary of the rector's speech, and the social activities thereafter, appearing in extracts from the letters; Mrs. Carlyle's condition meantime is described, then follows a brief summary of the material already printed in Geraldine Jewsbury's letters; and the section ends with the narrative of how he went to St. George's hospital, and the beautiful description of Mrs. Carlyle as she lay in death. (99)

Of Froude's own part in the writing, it is only necessary to say that, when called upon, Froude can write with the same imagination and harmony of style as in the famous passage from Chapter I of his History, on the passing of mediaevalism. (100) One of these passages which comes to mind is that after the death of Margaret Carlyle, when he thinks of death uniting Margaret, James Carlyle, and the sons John and Alick, scattered as they were by life. (101) Perhaps the best, however, is where he tells what Carlyle meant to the young of his own day, when "the intellectual lightships had broken from their moorings," when in a spiritual ocean they found "the lights all drifting, the compasses all awry, and nothing left to steer by except the stars. (102) Once, "Credo in Newmannum," as Froude (103) wrote in The Oxford Counter-Reformation, of his Short Studies on Great Subjects, had been enough for these young people, but it was no longer the symbol of faith. Tennyson was the prophet of the age; thus he continues, "Carlyle stood beside him as a prophet and teacher; and to the young, the generous, to everyone who took life

seriously, who wished to make an honourable use of it, and could not be content with sitting down and making money, his words were like the morning reveille." (104) Characteristically, however, he concludes the sincere tribute to his friend and teacher with the remark, "But of this I need say no more, and can now go on with the story." Indeed, to tell as accurately as possible, in detail and in general conception, what he knew of Carlyle was the task which Froude set himself in the biography.

His accurate handling of the Reminiscences can be seen in the foot-note to a letter from Dover 1824, where he points out the one slip he has discovered in these volumes. (105) Again to ensure accuracy, he preferred to include those letters of Mrs. Carlyle which had been annotated by her husband. For the Goethe letters Max Müller was consulted. (106) Where the material is of a contradictory character, as in Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle's stories of the troublesome fowls in 1853, he is careful to point out the discrepancies. (107) Froude had, nevertheless, one unfortunate propensity of which his enemies were only too ready to avail themselves, namely that he depended on himself for proof-reading, yet was liable to miss obvious slips. Of his deeper accuracy in the handling of his material, there is undoubted evidence, but his soundness can only be established fully when we examine the charges of misrepresentation brought against him.

Let us first see what Froude accomplishes in the Life. With his material he gives us the background of Carlyle's life - from the Annandale of his boyhood to the international affairs which produced Carlyle's letters to The Times. (108) Especially during the second part of his life, we are able to see Carlyle amongst his friends - Mr. Baring and Lady Ashburton, Bishop Thirlwall, Monckton Milnes, later Lord Houghton, Charles Buller, and John Forster, to name only some of these. Thirdly, Froude enables us to trace Carlyle's career from his University period, his posts as teacher, to the point when he realises after his London visit that literature must be the task of his life. (109) From the beginning, we are enabled to follow the course of his literary productions, with the



recognition accorded to each of his works, and his final establishment as the foremost writer and thinker of his age, a position marked by the award of the Order of Merit from Prussia in 1874.(110)

Still dealing with Carlyle in an objective way, Froude also enables us to glimpse vividly Carlyle himself or with his wife. Such is the picture of Carlyle's steady application to work on his return from London in 1832 and the consequent hardness of his wife's life; such also is the picture of Carlyle on holiday at Templeland and Scotsbrig in 1839, riding about the countryside with his old mother in John's gig, and smoking his pipe with her.(111)

Another thing, indeed, with which Froude supplies the reader is a first-hand record of Carlyle's ideas and opinions on a great variety of subjects and people. We have the peasant's scorn of the idleness and futility of the fine lords and ladies visiting Kinnaird, his poor opinion of Campbell and Coleridge, his half-scornful pity for De Quincey, as well as sweeping dismissals of Lamb, "A more pitiful, ricketty, gasping, stammering Tomfool I do not know." and "Poor Lamb! Poor England when such a despicable abortion is called genius!" (112) We find, too, his urge to write the truth, his distrust of the political nostrums of his day, and, fundamentally, despite his departures from orthodoxy, the conviction in a duty laid on man and in the moral governance of the universe.

Up to this point, few might have been found to object to Froude's handling of his material, but in the other uses which he made of it lay the reason for the resentment which his biography inspired. These were that in the Life Froude felt it necessary to use material which would reveal the conditions of Carlyle's married life, and which would portray Carlyle's character as it was, and as it developed, with its blemishes as well as its nobility. That Froude regarded it as a sacred duty to conceal nothing can be seen throughout the Life, but in two places, particularly does he express his conviction; before the summing up at the end of Volume II, he writes, "When a man of letters has exercised an influence so vast over successive generations of thinkers, the world has a right to know the minutest particulars of his life; and the sovereigns of literature can no

more escape from the fierce light which beats upon a throne, than the kings and ministers who have ruled the destinies of states and empires."(113) Again, in the Introduction to the second half of the biography, Froude suggests that to give a picture of an almost perfect character would have been easy, but with a person so famous the blanks would have been filled by groundless calumnies. His duty to Carlyle, to the public, and to himself all urged Froude to tell the truth, and, having told it this is his conviction, "To have been reticent would have implied that there was something to hide, and, taking all in all, there never was a man - I at least never knew of one - whose conduct in life would better bear the fiercest light which can be thrown upon it."(114)

In the Introduction to New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, Sir James Crichton Browne accuses Froude thus, "It was deeply rooted in his mind that Carlyle had, throughout their whole union behaved badly to his wife, and had deputed him, as a sort of literary undertaker to superintend a posthumous penance in the publication of his confessions."(115) Of Carlyle's attitude after the death of Mrs. Carlyle he says, "He canonised the woman, and looking back at her in her saintly transfiguration, he felt conscience-stricken because he had not spent all his days on his knees in worshipping her."(116) Though one might submit that Carlyle had too great a fund of common-sense to contemplate anything so absurd, and that Crichton Browne is not thereby dissipating the "cloud of disparagement" which Froude, he maintains, gathered round Carlyle's memory, the main point is, how far does this truly represent Froude's conception of what Carlyle wished him to do.? It must be stressed at the outset that Froude does not seek to conceal the frets and cross-currents of Carlyle's married life, but, basing on his personal knowledge the account of this aspect of Carlyle's life, he tries to present it as a human document. It is not a judicial weighing of evidence and allocation of blame, but an attempt to reveal two characters, whom one can then regard with mingled pity and admiration.

In Carlyle's character were certain qualities which made him a difficult person, both for himself and other people. Again and again we find him confessing as much - in a letter to his brother John, for example, he writes, "I cannot say for certain whether I have the smallest genius; but I know I have unrest enough to serve a parish." (117) From the very beginning, too, we find this nervous excitability intensified many times over, when the process of writing is on hand, for, as he wrote to Sterling about Past and Present, "Work is not possible for me except in a red hot element which wastes the life out of me." (118) With this went a violent temper, which he could not restrain, and repentance, which yet brought no amendment. Even his pride, which would not let him accept help, good as it might be for his work, was a cause of suffering to his wife. The intensity of Carlyle's devotion to his work caused him to expect a self-surrender on her part equal to his own. Although Carlyle's work would probably have been impossible, or would not have been done nearly so well, but for his wife's constant shielding of him from the minor worries of life and her tactful handling of those connected with him, she was not really asked to be the companion to him in his writing, which would have compensated for what she was giving up for his sake. Though he had delivered her from the petty boredom of Haddington, how much she was sacrificing in social intercourse and the amenities of life, the difficulties and the resultant strain upon her of their way of living, Carlyle was too engrossed to realise, till it brought unavailing regret. Nor could he ever realise that his wife had sufficient genius to find life empty in an age when woman was required to be amateurish, in her accomplishments, and when children were denied her, or even the resource of "good works," for, as she had written to their friend Duffy, "Sure enough, if I were a good Catholic, or good Protestant, or good anything, I should not be visited with those nervous illnesses." (119) Then, too, Carlyle's tendency to exaggerate his own ill-health Froude feels to have blinded him to his wife's much more serious condition. Always delicate, Mrs. Carlyle, Froude suggests, had her health broken by the labour and loneliness



at Craigenputtock, Carlyle accepting as natural in her, exertions which would have come easily to his own sturdier womenfolk.(120)

Undoubtedly Mrs.Carlyle was a capable housewife, rejoicing in the activity of life at Comely Bank, and taking a kind of grim pleasure in those periodical cleanings at Cheyne Row during her husband's absences. Along with the other strains imposed upon her, however, they left their mark. Osbert Burdett sees in her overworked girlhood, her protracted engagement, and in the conditions imposed by her marriage the seeds of psychological strain,(121) but whichever be the explanation, there is no doubt from the evidence supplied by Froude as to the poorness of Mrs.Carlyle's health in an age when the town dweller was seldom completely well. However Carlyle may say she is improving, we hear over and again references to fever, sleeplessness, and headaches. To John Carlyle in 1834, long before affairs had reached their climax, we find his sister-in-law writing, "It seems as if the problem of living would be immensely simplified to me if I had health. It does require such an effort to keep oneself from growing quite wicked, while that weary weaver's shuttle is plying between my temples."(122) Into this difficult situation came Carlyle's admiring friendship for Lady Ashburton. As Froude describes it, Mrs.Carlyle returned from Addiscombe in 1846,"with a mind all churned to froth;" Carlyle also was a little "ill-haired;" a quarrel ensued and Mrs.Carlyle fled to Seaforth, where she was followed by an affectionate letter from her husband. Although the quarrel was made up, and from this time Carlyle's "Gloriana worship" became less obvious, Froude feels that the fine edge of their affection was blunted.(123) Again, Mrs.Carlyle is depicted as being sacrificed to the comfort of Lady Ashburton on the journey to Scotland in 1856,(124) and though the domestic tone is happier during the following year, only in the last years of Mrs.Carlyle's life do we find the jarring elements removed.

From all this, it would appear that Froude's opponents were right, and that Mrs Carlyle was regarded by Froude as the martyr of Carlyle's peculiarities of temper, her increasing feebleness being aggravated

by her nervous anxiety and loneliness. Both Miss Jewsbury and Froude himself testify to the affection Jane Carlyle was able to inspire in others, and it might be concluded that this affectionate admiration made Froude a partisan. There is, however, another side to Froude's picture, for, like Carlyle, who wrote, "It is the earnest, affectionate, warm-hearted, enthusiastic Jane that I love. The acute, clear-sighted, derisive Jane I can at best but admire." (125), Froude realised that to Mrs. Carlyle's nature there were two sides. With her mother we find Mrs. Carlyle on difficult terms, and Froude means us to take this element into consideration when he writes, "Mrs. Carlyle, as well as her husband, was not an easy person to live with. She had a terrible habit of speaking out the exact truth, cut as clear as with a graving tool, on occasions, too, when without harm it might have been left unspoken." (126) On this side, moreover, is the point stressed by Froude that quite frequently Carlyle's offences were completely innocent of intention and could easily have been explained away. Regretting Carlyle's inability to take a lesson when Mrs. Carlyle has been chastising him for inconsiderateness, Froude says, "Poor Carlyle! Well he might complain of his loneliness! though he was himself in part the cause of it. Both he and she were noble and generous, but his was the soft heart, and hers the stern one." (127) To him, honour meant nothing, if not shared with his wife, who, after his mother, stood first in his affections. Happy they were not always; it would even appear that Carlyle did not expect happiness from a marriage such as his, for, in a letter printed by Miss Drew in Jane Welsh and Jane Carlyle, we find him writing in 1822 to a friend whose engagement has been broken, "These women of genius, sir, are the very devil, when you take them on a wrong tack. I know very well that I myself - if ever I marry - am to have one of them for my helpmate; and I expect nothing but that our life will be the most turbulent, incongruous thing on earth - a mixture of honey and wormwood, the sweetest and the bitterest - or as it were, the clearest sunshiny weather in nature, then whirlwinds and sleet and frost, the thunder and lightning and furious storms all

mingled together into the same season - and the sunshine always in the smallest quantity!"(128) Froude's belief, however, was that for people of genius another goal than happiness must be set; the real test was whether each brought out from the other the noblest contribution to humanity of which he or she was capable. Apart from this, whatever can be set on the opposite side, one thing Froude has brought out clearly, Carlyle's abiding affection for his wife. She was his "Goody," and "dear Bairn,"(129) and though life was not smooth for them, when the last act was to be played, to him Mrs. Carlyle turned, knowing his essential tenderness, and love. Carlyle's remorse was due not alone to the feeling he expressed about his father, "How holy are the dead! How willingly we take all the blame on ourselves which in life we were so willing to divide!"(130) Nor was it alone due to a natural regret that he had not been more observant and considerate. It was measured by the greatness of his love, and the consciousness that, by the repressions of his character, and by the preoccupations of his life, only a part of that love had ever been conveyed to the object of it. Such is the presentation which Froude gives us, and with him is the last word; speaking of Carlyle's desire expressed to himself to publish Mrs. Carlyle's letters, Froude writes, "Faults there had been; yes, faults no doubt, but such faults as most married men commit daily and hourly, and never think them faults at all; yet to him his conduct seemed so heinous that he could intend deliberately that this record should be the only history that was to survive of himself. In his most heroic life there was nothing more heroic, more characteristic of him, more indicative at once of his humility and his intense truthfulness."(131)

Froude has made thus much of certain aspects of Carlyle's character, because they determined such a large portion of his life. Sometimes, however, by comment on his material, more frequently by giving it, and letting it tell its own story, Froude shows other facets of Carlyle's character. He brings out those contradictions which are so essentially human - Carlyle's pride, yet equal modesty and distrust of himself; his impatience over little things, yet



his moods of gaiety, charm, and tenderness; his thrift, yet his extraordinary generosity, especially to members of his family; his vehemence of speech and writing, yet his shyness and sensitiveness to what he thought silly; his melancholy temperament, yet his abundant humour; his lack of association with organized Christianity, yet his belief in his own destiny, his sensitiveness to the solemnity and beauty of nature, and his high sense of duty. Though the scars of battle remained in his scorn, imperiousness, and severity, Carlyle in his struggle of life retained a spotless purity of life, a Spartan simplicity, and a fixed belief in the nobility of his mission. As a son and brother, Carlyle had few equals, for his family's cares were his cares, and what he gave was bestowed as a privilege, and with a delicacy, careful not to imply a sense of obligation. To his brother Alexander he wrote about little Jane, "Train her to this as the corner-stone of all morality to stand by the truth; to abhor a lie as she does hell-fire." (132) Such was his own guiding-star, and, using his splendid talents as a trust, never would he sell his soul for wealth or distinction. Though Froude was far from that blind adoration which caused one of his listeners at a lecture to remark, "I love the fellow's very faults," he makes us feel that his closing words are supported by the whole biography when he writes, "Neither self-indulgence, nor ambition, nor any meaner motive, ever led him astray from the straight road of duty, and he left the world at last, having never spoken, never written a sentence which he did not believe with his whole heart, never stained his conscience by a single deliberate act which he could regret to remember." (133)

It seems to have been the fate of Froude to have been assailed throughout his life by people who attacked his trustworthiness, just because his conscience would not allow him to dissimulate. Influenced as he was by the Oxford Movement, Froude found he could no longer proceed to holy orders, and his honestly expressed doubts in The Nemesis of Faith made for him enemies in the Church of England. (134) Again, the sympathetic understanding shown of the poetic and imaginative truth of the Lives of the Saints as seen in his Short Studies (135)

created others; while his refusal to follow Newman to the logical conclusion of Tract XC made still more.(136) Thus, though his view of history as resting on moral foundations, coincided with Carlyle's, when Froude's History of England appeared, there was hardly a section of churchmen who were not likely to find offence in it. The feud pursued with so much malevolence by Freeman Herbert Paul describes in his Life of Froude. There he shows how Freeman with, as he admitted to a friend, "a very small amount of knowledge" on which to "belabour Froude," thus condemns the labour of twenty years, "That burning zeal for truth, for truth in all matters great and small, that zeal which shrinks from no expenditure of time and toil in the pursuit of truth - the spirit without which history, to be worthy of the name, cannot be written - is not in Mr.Froude's nature, and it would, <sup>← probably</sup> be impossible to make him understand what it is."(137) Without foundation as Froude's biographer has shown this accusation to be, it was yet one which would linger in the public memory. When Froude's volumes on Carlyle appeared, those relatives who felt he had desecrated the family shrine, those women friends to whom Froude referred in a letter to Madame Olga Novikoff as expecting him "to paint for them the foolish idol which their own foolish minds had made of him,"(138) found the ground already prepared for the seeds of suspicion they meant to sow. There were no doubt people also who objected not to the use made by Froude of his material, but to his using it at all, and who felt as George Eliot did about Forster's Life of Dickens, "Is it not odious that as soon as a man is dead his desk is raked, and every insignificant memorandum which he never meant for the public, is printed for the gossiping amusement of people too idle to read his books?"(139)

Expressive of the common feeling against Froude's Life of Carlyle is the publication written by Professor David Masson in 1885 of Carlyle Personally and in his Writings. Depicting Carlyle as dying in a serene and honourable old age, he says the great writer was no sooner in his grave than he was condemned as a boor and a brute, or apologised for, or even dismissed. Unlike Wilson, who later thought

that Froude was the occasion rather than the cause of the decline in Carlyle's reputation, Masson attributed to him the distressing change of opinion.(140) His first criticism is the publication of certain things better left unprinted, Masson's opinion being that Froude should have exercised more of his editorial privilege to suppress Carlyle's asperities on private persons; here, too, he suggests that Carlyle had no right to leave his wife for public dissection.(141) Secondly, he condemns the melancholy tone of Froude's comments, as contrasted frequently with the humour and fun of Carlyle himself.(142) A third criticism is that Froude, by not making independent research and by the almost exclusive use of Carlyle's own papers, gave the work too subjective a tone. By reference to people such as himself, Masson thinks that Froude could have shown better Carlyle's enjoyment of the social side of life, and shown that if his gloom was constitutional it was not bitter, for laughter such as his could not come from an essentially unhappy man.(143) Of what Masson has said, most can be explained as representing a mere difference of opinion, and he is prepared to admit that the mischief wrought by Froude could not, because of his admiration for Carlyle, be intentional. Masson admits, too, the impressiveness of the figure evolving because of the determination of Froude to show Carlyle as he really was, a figure unable to be appreciated because of the "radical smallness of the average mind."(144)

More characteristic of the criticism evoked was that which broke out through the agency of Alexander Carlyle, and later of D.A. Wilson. In New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, the former took every opportunity of disagreeing with the interpretation placed by Froude on a particular piece of evidence. In 1846, for example, he denies that the trouble over Lady Ashburton was more than a passing cloud, accusing both Geraldine Jewsbury and Froude of disordered imaginations; he denies also that in July of this year there was a violent scene, saying that Mrs. Carlyle's health made her disagreeable and she knew it; and lastly that the only explanation of her not writing from Liverpool was that she had sent



a newspaper, their cheaper way of communication, which had miscarried. (145) This sounds convincing enough, but something, which this theory does not explain, produced Jane's extraordinary agitation when no letter arrived at Liverpool for her birthday, and her access of relief when she discovered that ~~there~~ there was one for her after all. Again, he accuses Froude of placing together extracts from Mrs. Carlyle's letters which produce a gloomier picture of her health in 1863 and after, than the facts justify; yet he himself includes a letter from St. Leonards 29th April 1864 referring to her "physical torment." (146)

Apart from such particular accusations, the general charge incorporated by Sir James Crichton Browne in the Introduction takes the following lines. He suggests that Froude "was systematically holding up to obloquy the man he extolled. He began with Hero-worship, and ended in a study of Demoniacal possession," (147) and this because he fundamentally misunderstood Carlyle's relations with his wife. To support his preconception, he then suggests Froude distorted his material. The first distortion he finds in the connection of Edward Irving and Jane Welsh; Jane's own letters are, however, Froude's authority, for in a letter of confession of July 24th 1825, enclosing a letter of Mrs. Montagu, she admits that she once passionately loved Edward Irving. Although Carlyle had endorsed the letter as not to be printed, he left things to Froude's discretion, and both the actual fact, and the inference are substantially correct. (148) Again, we find Froude charged with misrepresenting the respective social positions of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh; but once more, letters of both support Froude, since these show that they realised the difference between the professional and the peasant classes, for Carlyle's later position must not be used as a test for his position at the time of his marriage. (149) Thirdly, Froude is charged with drawing too gloomy a picture of life at Craigenputtock. It is obvious, however, that Jane never wanted to go to live there, for, before their marriage, when Carlyle put forward the suggestion, we find her writing, "You and I keeping

house at Craigenputtock! I would as soon think of building myself a nest on the Bass Rock.....Depend upon it you could not exist there a twelvemonth. For my part I could not spend a month at it with an angel."(150) Her friend Jeffrey did his best to prevent their change of domicile from Comely Bank, because he feared the effects upon her health. Carlyle himself recognized some of its quality, for, as he put it in a letter to his brother John in December 1833, "As for Craigenputtock, it stands here in winter grimness, in winter seclusion."(151) And yet Carlyle had the absorption in his work; for his wife there were only the long hours of dreariness and loneliness. While every story of what Mrs. Carlyle had to do in the house may not be true, Carlyle himself spoke of the difficulty in procuring servants, and if that were so, then there must have rested on his wife, in such conditions, a weight of physical labour too great for her. Another charge is that Froude has misrepresented the relations of Carlyle and Lady Ashburton, (152) yet Froude's was a very restrained presentation, and one really fundamentally endorsed by the material in New Letters and Memorials. Finally, they object to Froude's use of the phrase, "gey ill to live wi'," claiming that it is a distortion of Mrs. James Carlyle's "gey ill to deal wi'."(153) Actually, Froude uses both forms, recognizing it to be a family joke, and even Carlyle's most stalwart defenders could not deny its truth in either form. So far then, from Froude's having distorted the facts, we have not so far found an example of his recording them partially. The point they stress, too, of Carlyle's constant affection, Froude had also emphasised, and as has already been seen, they suppressed material to prove their case of Carlyle's never having anything with which to reproach himself.

One more point, however, they raised as a cause of reproach against Froude. In the Introduction, Sir James Crichton Browne brings up the nature of Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle's marriage, a point touched upon with the greatest delicacy by Froude, and yet this very fact is made the occasion of still further abuse.(154) Froude had suffered in silence, but he had put it into the hands of his

family to clear his name, and in 1903 there appeared a pamphlet written by Froude in Cuba in 1887. This posthumous production, My Relations with Carlyle, refers explicitly to facts about Carlyle's marriage passed on by Geraldine Jewsbury, facts which explained Mrs. Carlyle's unhappiness when her husband's affection was temporarily shared, and which traced their conjugal difficulties to the impossibility of children in their home. Froude there claims that Miss Jewsbury told him what was evidently known to others of their circle, and he assumes that the circumstances were too solemn for her to invent her information. (155) Unconvinced by Froude, Mr. David A. Wilson, in 1913 published The Truth about Carlyle, with a Preface by Sir James Crichton Browne to discuss it, and including Mr. Frank Harris's Edinburgh Review article of 1911, Talks with Carlyle. (156) Whether we think they have established their case about Carlyle's marriage, or whether, like Miss Drew, we agree with them, without accepting the contradictions in their accusation of Froude, (157) two facts stand out. The first is that Froude chose the person, who, he thought, would know most about a very intimate part of Carlyle's life, a part which he hoped merely to touch upon, but which Carlyle's so-called defenders caused to be dragged through the mire of controversy; the second is that, having told the truth, he was still able to write, "The whole facts are now made known. The worst has been said that can be said, and anything further which can now be told about him can only be to his honour. The usual custom is to begin with the brightest side and to leave the faults to be discovered afterwards. It is dishonest and it does not answer," and later "The only Life of a man which is not worse than useless is a Life which tells all the truth so far as the biographer knows it." (158)

One would have imagined that quite enough had been said on the subject of Froude and his treatment of his subject, but the onslaught was renewed by D.A. Wilson in the volumes of his biography of Carlyle appearing under varied headings, five of them during his lifetime, from 1923 to 1929, and the last written by his nephew D. Wilson MacArthur from material collected by his uncle. It is almost



inconceivable that Wilson should preserve such a lively animus towards a man as he does towards Froude. Whenever Froude's name appears it proves the opportunity for a sneer. Here are a few samples - he speaks of the foolishness of Froude, of his fancifulness, and on one occasion he refers to "Sancho Panza Froude," while on another he writes, "Froude was professionally sad, like an undertaker's man, and wrote whatever fictions came into his head." (159) So low an opinion has he of Carlyle's first biographer that he is prepared to deny the commission for it, claiming that only the editorial work was a task, and that the biographical was undertaken as volunteer work, on material lent by Mary Carlyle. (160) Such a view is, however, untenable in face of the fact that Froude, at Carlyle's request, cancelled his far more lucrative plans for further historical work, in order to devote all his time to Carlyle's papers. (161) It overlooks, too, the obvious heartache, yet sense of compulsion, in such letters as that printed by Herbert Paul from Froude to Max Müller in December 1881, about Goethe's letters, "So much ill will has been shown me in the case of the other letters that I walk as if on hot ashes, and often curse the day when I undertook the business... There are objections to every course which I can follow. The arguments for and against were so many and so strong that Carlyle himself could not decide what was to be done, and left it to me. He could see all sides of the question. Other people will see one, or one more strongly than another, whatever it may be; and therefore, do what I will, a large body of people will blame me. Nay, if I threw it up, a great many people would blame me. What have I done that I should be in such a strait? But I am sixty-four years old, and I shall soon be beyond it all." (162)

However much Wilson may abuse Froude, it will be noted that some of the additional material supplied by him, far from contradicting, confirms the view adopted by Froude in a particular instance. Larkin, Carlyle's assistant during the writing of Frederick the Great, confirms Carlyle's difficultness when writing, suggesting that it was "misery" to be shut up with him, and referring to

Mrs. Carlyle's describing "with absolute shuddering" what she endured at Craigenputtock. (163) In the same way, he wishes to accept Carlyle as the adored master, who was worried by his wife's inability to agree with her servants, yet he has to admit that one servant remained with her six years, another twelve, and he can place nothing against a letter in *New Letters and Memorials*, with whose editors he is so obviously in sympathy, in which Mrs. Carlyle complains to Mrs. Russell that her husband is so busy, "and so easily disturbed that my life is spent in standing between him and the outer world," and in which she refers to herself as "a human partition." (164)

That so much labour as has been bestowed by Mr. Wilson could have gone for nothing is impossible, and a number of interesting facts about Carlyle's life have been educed. For example, he has proved in the last volume, *Carlyle in Old Age*, that Carlyle's advice to his wife when she was ill, "Shut your mouth," was not, as Froude thought inability to recognize the seriousness of her illness, or as Masson believed, an example of their humorous good-fellowship, but was a jesting reference to a pamphlet of the name by Catlin on the Indians. (165) In addition, the work has been enriched by much material, in fact one might say, mountains of material, contemporary with Carlyle. There are the biographies of Carlyle's contemporaries such as the *Life and Letters of George Bancroft*; there are memoirs by very many people, examples being F. Espinasse's *Literary Recollections* and Sir F. Pollock's *Personal Remembrances*. (166) There are records of interviews with Carlyle by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and many others. (167) There are anecdotes from members of Carlyle's family, such as those supplied by Mrs. Leslie, Carlyle's niece, and daughter of Mrs. Hanning in Canada, about Carlyle's visit to Scotsbrig in 1850; (168) and there are a number of hitherto unpublished manuscripts including what were denied to Froude, Lord Jeffrey's letters to Carlyle and Mrs. Carlyle, (169) and a valuable group of letters which were put at his disposal by the Marquess of Northampton, those written by Carlyle or Mrs. Carlyle to his grandfather, William Bingham Baring, later the second Lord

Ashburton, and to Lady Harriet Baring, first Lady Ashburton.(170)

It will be noted that in this additional material two tendencies are at work. First, Wilson seems to have a marked preference for material which, like Sir Archibald Alison's notes to Richard Monckton Milnes, and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's Conversations with Carlyle, records Carlyle's talk; indeed he introduces various people as other "Boswells"(171) and it was one of his gibes at Froude that he was an unsuccessful Boswell. This, along with his fondness for anecdote, gives the book rather the appearance of a novel than a biography, an impression made stronger by some of the titles. In Carlyle till Marriage, for example, are sections entitled, "Mrs. Welsh raises the blockade but will not let Jane come to town," "Dr. Fyffe," "In the Highlands - His Heart Elsewhere," "Love Letters by Don Quixote," and "Dulcinea Responds."(172) With this tendency, we find him dwelling at greater length upon Carlyle's life up to his marriage, and indeed calling a book, a subdivision of the volume, "Romance."(173) This brings us to another feature of the biography - its lack of artistic unity by the large number of divisions, first into five books, then into chapters, some as short as a page in length. The effect of this will be realised when one considers that Volume II, Carlyle till the French Revolution, has ninety-nine chapters, Volume III, Carlyle on Cromwell and Others, has a hundred and thirty, and Volume VI, Carlyle in Old Age, has a hundred and ninety-nine.

These features, then, prevent Wilson's biography from ever reaching a high artistic level - his diversion from his biographic purpose to abuse Froude, his inability to control completely his material, and his failure to make the truthful portrayal of Carlyle's character the final test of all he has to do. In spite, too, of all the abuse, what Sir James Stephen said in 1881 about Froude's personal relationship with Carlyle has not yet been disproved, "The most affectionate son could not have acted better to the most venerated father. You cared for him, soothed him, protected him as a guide might protect a weak old man down a steep and painful



path."(174) It is therefore incredible that Froude could have been actuated by malignity; instead it is true, as Froude's biographer wrote, "Froude had so much confidence in the essential greatness of the man that he did not hesitate to show him as he was, not a prodigy of impossible perfection; but a sterling character and a lofty genius. Therefore his portrait lives, and will live, when biographies written for flattery or edification have been consigned to boxes or to lumber-rooms."(175)

After this great task, anything else which Froude might attempt in the field of biography must seem in the nature of a postscript. He did, however, contribute to English literature two other biographies, the first of these being Lord Beaconsfield in 1890. In this work, there is manifestly little of the research of Monypenny and Buckle's monumental biography, or even of such a comparatively brief one as James Sykes's Mary Anne Disraeli. In consequence of later research, Froude was proved to be in error in some points. Sykes, for example, is able to disprove the fact accepted by Froude that Hughenden was purchased from Disraeli's father's estate; instead, he is able to show that the matter was arranged by the Bentinck brothers in order that Disraeli might become a country gentleman and the possible leader of his party.(176) Following Buckle, Sykes also disproves Froude's story of Disraeli's meeting with Mrs. Wiliams in 1851 when she was supposed to have made him a gift, by showing that there was no record of their meeting till 1853, after which she became a regular correspondent of both husband and wife.(177) Instead, we find Froude using as far as possible what Disraeli wrote or said. With certain reservations, he draws on Vivian Gray and Contarini Fleming for Disraeli's schooldays; his foreign tour is sketched from his letters home; while the dedication of Sybil and quotations from Sybil and Coningsby are employed for the light shed upon his marriage.(178) Extracts from his speeches are used to show how he brought about the fall of Peel, as well as for his character, and abilities.(179) As in the Life of Carlyle, this type of material is supplemented by

those giving a picture of Disraeli at a particular point in his career - N.P. Wills pictures him at Lady Blessington's and there is material from Mr. Madden's memoirs of Lady Blessington. For the relations between Carlyle and Disraeli Froude employs material already used in the life of the former.(180)

In his handling of the material, the same technique is employed as in his longer biography. We find him summarising, for example a speech; sometimes we find him blending different types of material - such as narrative, description, and the impression of one present, for his account of Disraeli's maiden speech;(181) and sometimes we find him bringing before us a vivid scene, as when Peel was attacked over the Coercion Bill.(182)

As in his previous biographical work, Froude sketches in the background of Disraeli's career, with the mastery learned in his writing of history. One of the best of these is where he describes the England of the start of Disraeli's political life.(183) The discussion of the Irish situation also gives Froude an opportunity to write of something on which he has reflected, and knows at first-hand.(184)

From his material, Froude enables us to follow Disraeli's most characteristic views, views in some cases shared by Froude himself. Disraeli's regard for the old aristocracy and his distrust of the extension of the franchise is an example of this, where he comments of the older England, "Liberty in the modern sense, liberty where the rights of man take the place of the duties of a man - such a liberty they neither sought nor desired."(185) Disraeli's views on tariffs, on the Crimean War, on the American Civil War, and on Tractarianism are amongst those so included. Disraeli's special characteristics are also brought out by Froude from his material - his special abilities as an orator, his power of leadership, his detachment, his Jewish standpoint, his hatred of cant, his admiration for Carlyle, and, on the private side, his affection for his wife.

Although Froude did not embark on independent research, he was

careful about the accuracy of any facts which he had heard mentioned, and only included them after scrupulous inquiry.

Such was the subject, that this biography gave scope for the expression of Froude's own views. One example has already been mentioned. Others are his distrust of the growing power of the middle classes, and of progress as distinct from moral progress, his horror of the social evils of the time, and his disbelief in education as the complete remedy; while his views on international events also find expression. There is, however, no failure to subordinate these to the purpose of delineating Disraeli's character. In his summing up of the measure of greatness achieved by Disraeli we find a sympathetic detachment, which contributes to the artistry of the last chapter, an artistry which extends to the style, for we find him writing thus of Disraeli's retirement from office, "When the shadows lengthen and the sun is going down, earthly greatness fades to tinsel, and nothing is any longer beautiful to look back upon but the disinterested actions, many or few, which are scattered over the chequered career." (186)

The last of Froude's biographical work is the Life and Letters of Erasmus. When, as Regius Professor of Modern History, he delivered at Oxford the series of lectures on Erasmus during the session 1893-94, these were printed as soon as delivered. It must be noted that the book is influenced by the fact that its first form was a series of lectures, for that caused the material to be divided into sections of approximately equal length. At times, such a clear-cut division does synchronize with the natural division, for example one lecture being devoted to Erasmus' first visit to England, (187) but division becomes more difficult when, as in the Lutheran struggle, sections are not obvious in the material. This may, in part, account for the feeling that duplication occurs in the letters at times. The exigencies of the lecture form force him to print in an Appendix to Lecture VIII the dialogue, Julius, scourging the Papacy, and supposed, despite his denial of authorship, to be the work of Erasmus. (188) While he sometimes prints material to fill out a section, Froude



at other times, has to divide what would artistically go together, as in the influence of the controversy over Henry VIII's divorce from Queen Catherine.(189) The second thing which should be noted is that it is the Life and Letters of Erasmus, hence the very large proportion of these.

Occasionally we find introduced letters by others, when these are needed. A letter from Erasmus' friend Mountjoy, inviting him to the court of Henry VIII, a passionate defence of Erasmus by More to a young critic who had objected to his intimacy with the author of Encomium Moriae, and a letter from Charles V in reply to Erasmus' appeal when his works were to be examined by the Inquisition are included.(190) Sometimes Froude introduces work other than letters by Erasmus, such as characteristic comments on certain verses from his edition of the New Testament, and extracts from his "Moria".(191)

From the letters, which naturally form the greatest proportion of the material, some have the relevant section quoted, without date or destination; most give the name of the recipient, and are abridged to fit into the general narrative. The revelation of Erasmus' development and character, his views on a variety of topics, the state of his fortunes and of his health, his literary activities and the events of his day are all conveyed by judicious selections from the letters. Sometimes, Froude breaks a letter to put in an explanatory link, then resumes it in an abridged form. Generally, it is only the shorter letters which are left entire, an example of this kind being the one to Archbishop Warham of Aug.24, 1521, regretting the dispute caused by Luther in the world, and admitting the probability of his having to write something on the subject.(192) Amongst the letters printed by Froude, one cannot fail to be struck by the great variety of the recipients. There are people who at one time or another were his patrons, for example the Lady of Vere, Mountjoy, and various popes;(193) there are the members of the church, from his obscure early friends such as Battus and Anderlin, to members of the college of Cardinals;(194) there are distinguished people like Philip Melanchthon;(195) and there are friends whom he made

in the course of his life, such as More, Warham, Duke George of Saxony, and Emperor Charles V. (196)

Two things are done by Froude, in addition to supplying this material, and by means of the material. First, he sketches in constantly the shifting historical background for the figure of Erasmus. A letter of appeal to the Pope's Prothonotary in 1514, when he was in danger because of discarding his distinctive costume, depicts the state of the monasteries in his youth. (197) England at the time of Erasmus' first visit, the effect on the priests of the "Moria", and the way in which the attack on the new learning gathered impetus are also amongst these sketches. (198) It is in the last mentioned of these that Froude ironically remarks, rather in the vein of his master Carlyle, about the outcry caused by "Moria," "Most fools and many women, however, were on the Clergy's side, and a party which has the fools at its back has usually a majority of numbers." (199) The fullest of all such sketches of background concerns the part played in English church affairs by the divorce of Queen Catherine. There he maintains the position adopted as early as his History of England, that the Act of Succession was a question not of religious belief but of loyalty. He shows how the letters of Chapuys prove the disloyalty of the priests to Henry VIII, and how he was driven by events into a breach with the Papacy. (200) Tempted as Froude must have been to enlarge on a favourite subject, he introduces it only because of the effect these events had upon the friends of Erasmus - More and Fisher. He feels that the period of history, to him the most exciting in modern times, is best seen through the eyes of Erasmus.

The second thing he does is to build up the character of Erasmus. He lets us see Erasmus' desire for freedom, and his passion for learning, which forced him to flatter for money; he stresses also the delicacy of body which made comfort necessary for life; Erasmus' wit, and his intellectual and spiritual honesty are also emphasised. One interesting section is where he has to defend Erasmus from the charge of cowardice for his behaviour towards Luther. He does this

by showing that it is not necessarily a virtue to court martyrdom, and that charges of various kinds are brought by biographers to deduct from their feeling of inferiority to their subject; nevertheless, he cannot help regretting Erasmus' quick desire to wash his hands of Luther.(201) All along, we are made to realise the complexity of Erasmus' attitude to the religious contests of his day. Froude makes us feel that, despite his hatred of dogma, Erasmus was fundamentally loyal to his church. Though Erasmus can understand how people have been driven into schism, he writes thus to Lewis Ber in April 1529, "I will not forsake the church myself. I would forfeit life and reputation sooner."(202) Froude's own attitude to Erasmus found expression in the remark that, before we censure, we should try to understand - and, indeed, what wiser advice could be given to any biographer?

- (1) Froude Bun.,181. (2) Froude Bun.,6-9. (3) Froude Bun.,24-49.
- (4) Froude Bun.,11-12. (5) Froude Bun.,16-26. (6) Froude Bun.,39-40.
- (7) Froude Bun.,69-81. (8) Carlyle Rem., I,v, Froude Rel.,12-3, 44.
- (9) Froude Rel,44-7,Froude C.E.L. I,vi-vii. (10) Froude Rel.,45.
- (11) Carlyle Rem., I,116-8. (12) Carlyle Rem.,I,157-8.
- (13) Carlyle Rem.,II,165-6,325. (14) Carlyle Rem,I,54-62.
- (15) Carlyle Rem.,I,66. (16) Carlyle Rem.,I,141. (17) Carlyle Rem., I,333-4.
- (18) Carlyle Rem.,II,22-4,31-4. (19) Carlyle Rem.,II,71-90.
- (20) Carlyle Rem.,II,31-4,155. (21) Carlyle Rem.,II 254-61.
- (22) Carlyle Rem.,II,296-9. (23) Carlyle Rem.,I,328. (24) Carlyle N.L.&M., I,xxvii-xxxi.
- (25) Carlyle Rem.,II,242. (26) Carlyle Rem., I,276.
- (27) Froude Rel.,45-60. (28) Carlyle Rem.N.,I,vii.
- (29) Carlyle Rem.,I,2-7, Carlyle Rem.N.,I,1-4. (30) Carlyle Rem.,I,5, Carlyle Rem.N.,I,3.
- (31) Carlyle Rem.N.,I,68-9, Carlyle Rem.,II,91-2.
- (32) Carlyle Rem.,II,243, Carlyle Rem.N.,I,203. (33) Carlyle Rem.,II, 312, Carlyle Rem.N.,I,203.
- (34) Carlyle Rem.,II,35. (35) Carlyle Rem.N.,I,94.
- (36) Carlyle Rem.N.,I,257-8. (37) Froude Rel.,32.
- (38) Carlyle Rem.,II,256. (39) Froude Rel;12-4,31-2. (40) Carlyle L.&M.,II,235-6.
- (41) Carlyle L.&M.,III,174-181.



- (42) Carlyle L. & M., III, 192-5. (43) Carlyle L. & M., I, 13.  
 (44) Carlyle L. & M., II, 254-7, 273-5. (45) Carlyle L. & M., I, 299-310,  
 II, 257-73. (46) Carlyle L. & M., I, 49. (47) Carlyle L. & M., I, 72-3,  
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 (50) Carlyle L. & M., I, 268. (51) Carlyle L. & M., I, 150. (52) Carlyle  
 L. & M., II, 1, 10. (53) Carlyle L. & M., I, 43. (54) Carlyle L. & M., I,  
 289-90. (55) Carlyle N. L. & M., I, lxxxvi, v. (56) Carlyle N. L. & M., I, 3-8.  
 (57) Carlyle N. L. & M., II, 87-8. (58) Dunn, 195-9. (59) Carlyle L. & M.,  
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 (62) Carlyle N. L. & M., I, 232n. (63) Carlyle N. L. & M., I, 185, 183-4n.  
 (64) Carlyle N. L. & M., I, 238, i, 163, ii, 127, 172. (65) Froude C. E. L., I, 4-  
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 (67) Froude C. E. L., I, 43. (68) Froude C. E. L., I, 103-8. (69) Froude  
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 (71) Froude C. E. L., I, 30-2. (72) Froude C. E. L., I, 69-72. (73) Froude  
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 (79) Froude C. E. L., I, 38-9, 46. (80) Froude C. E. L., I, 209. (81) Froude  
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 (83) Froude C. L. L., II, 150-2, 484. (84) Froude C. L. L., I, 253-66, II, 107-  
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 (86) Froude C. L. L., II, 367-71, 453. (87) Froude C. E. L., I, 391.  
 (88) Froude C. L. L., I, 492-4. (89) Froude C. L. L., II, 274. (90) Froude  
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 (92) Froude C. L. L., II, 477. (93) Froude C. L. L., II, 475. (94) Froude  
 C. E. L., I, 392f. (95) Froude C. E. L., II, 33-4f. (96) Froude C. L. L., I,  
 431-3. (97) Froude C. E. L., I, 308-78. (98) Froude C. L. L., II, 291-307.  
 (99) Froude C. L. L., II, 317-36. (100) Froude Hist., I, 51.  
 (101) Froude C. E. L., II, 115. (102) Froude C. L. L., I, 311. (103) Froude  
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- (108) Froude C.E.L., I, 1-2, Froude C.L.L., II, 427-34. (109) Froude C.E.L., I, 34, 311. (110) Froude C.L.L., II, 454. (111) Froude C.E.L., II, 277-97, Froude C.L.L., I, 177-8. (112) Froude C.E.L., I, 191, 272-3, II, 215. (113) Froude C.E.L., II, 487, (114) Froude C.L.L., II, 5. (115) Carlyle N.L.& M., I, xxvi. (116) Carlyle N.L.& M., I, xxviii. (117) Froude C.E.L., I, 151. (118) Froude C.L.L., I, 306. (119) Carlyle L. & M., I, 332. (120) Froude C.E.L., II, 296-8. (121) Burdett Car., 26, 110-1. (122) Froude C.E.L., II, 429. (123) Froude C.L.L., I, 407-25. (124) Froude C.L.L., II, 97-8. (125) Froude C.E.L., I, 269. (126) Froude C.L.L., I, 248. (127) Froude C.L.L., II, 186. (128) Drew, 38. (129) Froude C.L.L., I, 118, 155. (130) Froude C.E.L., II, 265. (131) Froude C.L.L., II, 439. (132) Froude C.E.L., II, 425. (133) Froude C.L.L., II, 491. (134) Paul, 45-9. (135) Froude S.S., III, 556-75. (136) Froude S.S., IV, 347-60. (137) Paul, 148-86, 166. (138) Dunn, 25. (139) Cross III, 203. (140) Wilson I, Preface, Masson Car., 4-7. (141) Masson Car., 9-17. (142) Masson Car., 17-22. (143) Masson Car., 22-46. (144) Masson Car., 9, 10. (145) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, 186-92. (146) Carlyle N.L. & M., II, 292-4. (147) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, ix. (148) Froude C.E.L., I, 318. (149) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, xxxvi-xxxviii. (150) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, xl-xliii, Froude C.E.L., I, 288. (151) Froude C.E.L., II, 401. (152) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, 1-lxvii. (153) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, lxviii. (154) Carlyle N.L. & M., I, liii. (155) Froude Rel., 15-25. (156) Wilson Truth, 7-22, 67-8. (157) Drew, 130-42. (158) Froude Rel., 37, 40. (159) Wilson II, 49, V, 430. (160) Wilson I, viii, (161) Froude Rel., 16. (162) Paul, 312. (163) Wilson V, 294. (164) Carlyle N.L. & M., II, 167. (165) Wilson VI, 6, Froude C.L.L., II, 292, Masson Car., 19-21. (166) Wilson IV, 29, 51, V, 463. (167) Wilson IV, 117-38. (168) Wilson IV, 313. (169) Wilson I, ix. (170) Wilson V, v. (171) Wilson I, viii, (172) Wilson I, 267, 271, 285, 289, 293. (173) Wilson I, 361. (174) Froude Rel., 62. (175) Paul, 313. (176) Froude Beac., 179, Sykes, 90-2. (177) Froude Beac., 179-81, Sykes, 107-9. (178) Froude Beac., 15-9, 29-44, 88-90. (179) Froude Beac., 140-6. (180) Froude Beac., 52-5, 54, 252-3. (181) Froude Beac., 70-3.

- (182) Froude Beac., 142-4. (183) Froude Beac., 74-82. (184) Froude Beac., 105. (185) Froude Beac., 75. (186) Froude Beac., 254. (187) Froude Erasmus, 35-51. (188) Froude Erasmus, 140-60, 184. (189) Froude Erasmus, 312-50. (190) Froude Erasmus, 84-5, 135-9, 320. (191) Froude Erasmus, 114-9, 123-6. (192) Froude Erasmus, 268-9. (193) Froude Erasmus, 74, 41, 274, 164, 246, 282. (194) Froude Erasmus, 42, 49, 55, 57, 70, 108, 365-6. (195) Froude Erasmus, 235, 353. (196) Froude Erasmus, 200, 266, 283, 315. (197) Froude Erasmus, 165-8. (198) Froude Erasmus, 35-40, 130-5. (199) Froude Erasmus, 130. (200) Froude Erasmus, 371-85. (201) Froude Erasmus, 254-6, 267. (202) Froude Erasmus, 329.



The brief biography - Eminent Victorians - material, selection, characterisation, artistry. Point of view, whether detached; Life of Manning. Strachey and the Victorian Era. Queen Victoria - material and handling; characterisation. Comparison with Sir Sidney Lee's biography. Characters of Prince Consort and Queen. Elizabeth and Essex - psychological element. Portraits in Miniature.

In the Leslie Stephen Lecture for 1911 on Principles of Biography, Sir Sidney Lee laid down as the essentials that the biographer should find fit themes, then treat them "with scrupulous accuracy, perfect frankness, discriminating sympathy, and with resolute brevity." (1) In the enormous number of biographies produced during the 19th century, some of these qualities are to be found, and, in the greatest of them, all save the last, but in none since Scott's Lives of the Novelists had brevity been a quality expected in a biography.

A.G. Gardiner's Prophets, Priests, and Kings, first published in 1908 and again in 1914, had tried to indicate the special sphere occupied by character, to analyse it, and to reduce it to its final elements, to catch the quintessence of personality. It might, as in the case of Dr. Clifford, involve a highly condensed outline of his career, (2) but the method of comparison, as in the Bishop of London, and the characteristic unforgettable picture, as in Winston Churchill seizing a vital paper laid by Mr. Balfour on the table were just as common. (3) He might go so far into the realm of imagination as in his picture of G.K. Chesterton donning armour from the Tower, "And the clatter of his hoofs will ring through the quiet of the city night as he thunders through St. Paul's Churchyard and down Ludgate Hill and out on the Great North Road. And then once more will be heard the cry of 'St. George for Merry England!' and there will be the clash of swords in the greenwood and brave deeds done in the King's highway." (4) Now, this may be characteristic

enough of the spirit of Chesterton, though even that one may take leave to doubt, but it is certainly not the kind of brevity which comes from the perfect condensation of material studied with a scholar's accuracy, and then manipulated with the hand of an artist. For that we have to wait for Giles Lytton Strachey, perhaps along with Boswell the most conscious biographical artist in English literature.

In the Preface to Eminent Victorians, published in 1918, Strachey deplores the absence in English of a similar biographical tradition to that in France, and continues, "Those two fat volumes, with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead - who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design?" In giving to biography its proper place as an art, the first aim which Strachey set before him was brevity, "A brevity which excludes everything that is redundant and nothing that is significant." (5)

With this end in view, it was unlikely that Lytton Strachey should undertake much independent research, and we actually find that his material is of the kind made familiar by the previous development of biography. Letters are used in all of these short biographies. In the Life of Cardinal Manning, brief significant extracts from Manning's letters are used to illustrate his relations with Archdeacon Hare; a letter of Monsignor Talbot deals with his appointment as Archbishop of Westminster; while parts of the correspondence between Manning and Talbot are used to show how Newman's scheme of an Oxford Oratory was made impossible. (6) In the Life of Florence Nightingale are printed the letter from the Queen accompanying the gift of a brooch in 1856, and short extracts from the letters of Jowett of Balliol to illustrate the religious condition of their recipient. (7)

In the Life of Dr. Arnold, his views on public events are represented by odd sentences, chosen with unerring skill, from his letters.

As one would also expect, the diary is another favourite type of material. Extracts are used to show the internal struggle during the period of Manning's conversion, to mark Florence Nightingale's

success in securing for herself a career, and to round off the life of Arnold just before his death.(8) In the *Life of General Gordon*, or as it is actually called, the Death of General Gordon, there is the most liberal use of the diary, when we witness the outpouring of his spirit in the *Khartoum Journals*.(9) Half way between these two types of material are the telegrams from Lord Granville, and the replies to these, tracing the affair of Gordon's appointment to the Sudan.(10)

It will be noted that partly because of the process of condensation, Lytton Stacey is very sparing in his use of anecdote, those chosen being highly significant, for example one showing how early began Manning's love of truth, and one telling of the visit to Newman of Father Smith and how he knew of Newman's secession to the Church of Rome.(11)

In his selection of the material, Lytton Stacey was guided by his own sense of relevancy. To introduce the play of life and character against Manning, he felt it necessary to give a brief but very effective outline of Newman's career from his leaving the Church of England.(12) Before the part played by Manning, he discusses the question of Papal Infallibility, because he regards it as fundamental to Catholicism.(13) To trace the influence of Arnold upon Clough, he includes extracts from the writings of Clough.(14)

Another element in the studies is the inclusion at certain points of the background against which the main figure is to act. We see this in his analysis of the state of medical organization, or rather disorganization, when Florence Nightingale reached Scutari, in the picture of public school life, when Arnold came to Rugby, and in the sketch of the collapsing condition of the Egyptian Empire and of the revolt of the Mahdi, as the background for Gordon's task.(15) One of the briefest, though not the least characteristic, is that in the Life of Cardinal Manning, where he describes the state of the Church of England leading to the Oxford Movement, and the Tractarian publications. There he begins, "For many generations the Church of England had slept the sleep of the ...comfortable" and concludes, "The fervours



of piety, the zeal of Apostolic charity, the enthusiasm of self-renunciation - these things were all very well in their way - and in their place; but their place was certainly not the Church of England."(16)

With this material, not in itself new, Lytton Strachey exercises the most rigorous selection. A comparison of his Life of Arnold and that by A.P. Stanley lets us see how far this selective process has gone. From the narrative of Arnold's early life he selects only such significant points as his memory for historical stories, rewarded at the age of three by his father's prize of Smollett's History of England, his difficulty in rising early, and his victory over religious doubts during his period at Oxford.(17) From the chapter, School Life at Rugby, Strachey feels that Arnold's order of what he expects from his Sixth Form pupils - 1st religious and moral principles, 2ndly gentlemanly conduct, 3rdly intellectual ability - is characteristic.(18) Again, during that period, from the material at his disposal, Lytton Strachey selects only the recollections of Arnold's manner to his pupils and the description of him during services.(19) One more example of selection, as contrasted with exclusion, is to be found in a letter to Mr. Smith about his criticism of Arnold's pamphlet on Church Reform. There he chooses what is for him the one significant sentence, "My great objection to Unitarianism in its present form in England is that it makes Christ virtually dead."(20) Far be it from him to present the reader with "ill-digested masses" of material.

Along with the selection, the first element in his deliberate artistry, comes an intensification revealing itself in different ways. At times, Strachey can give a completely finished incident, as when he describes Ward's surrender to the power of music when living next door to Dr. Pusey.(21) On other occasions, from his material, he builds up the drama of events. The Life of Cardinal Manning has three good examples of this - the Pope's choice of Manning to succeed Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster, Manning's foiling of Newman's scheme for a Catholic Hall at Oxford, and the struggle over Papal Infallibility.(22) In the Life of Florence

Nightingale, too, there is the contest between the resolute Miss Nightingale and Lord Panmure, the Bison as Strachey calls him, to obtain a Royal Commission on the health of the army.(23) Perhaps the best example of all is to be found in the events leading up to the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon. There, after a rapid narrative, of the events leading to the isolation of Gordon in Khartoum, he gives to the final crisis a dramatic intensity by showing how all the elements, including Lord Hartington's fatal slowness, contributed to the tragedy.(24) Along with this sense of drama in outward events, Strachey by his handling of the material constantly emphasises the element of drama inherent in personality. Many examples of this are to be found, but amongst the two best are first where he contrasts the outward activity and success of Manning as Archdeacon of Chichester with his inner doubt and tumult, brought to a climax by the decision on the Gorham case, and secondly the way in which Florence Nightingale's achievements in the Crimea are made into a human struggle, with facts as elements in the drama.(25)

To Lytton Strachey the personality of his subjects is indeed his primary artistic concern, and already one of his ways of bringing his characters to life has been touched upon. Another of his methods is to bring the subject of the biography before the reader by some characteristic picture. Such are the pictures of Manning as he took part in the public life of his day, as Archdeacon, and as an old man just before his death.(26) Such, too, are the vivid vignettes of Florence Nightingale in desperate health, but wrestling with a mass of documents and facts, of Arnold when he became the head of Rugby, and of Gordon with his Bible in the streets of Jerusalem in 1883, or pouring out his spirit on telegraph forms when isolated in the city of Khartoum.(27) The fire of life he imparts to the central figure is kept burning by contact with the world of subordinate figures surrounding him. Round Manning, for instance, we have Keble with his zeal and with his loathing of infidelity, Ward with his unbounded belief and enthusiasm, Wiseman with his huge figure and genial tolerant tastes, Monsignor Talbot with his priestly accomplish-

ments, and above all Newman, of whom Strachey gives us this picture, "He was a child of the Romantic Revival, a creature of emotion and of memory, a dreamer whose secret spirit dwelt apart in delectable mountains, an artist whose subtle senses caught, like a shower in the sunshine the impalpable rainbow of the immaterial world."(28) The central figure of General Gordon is made more real by the life which inhabits the others with whom Gordon comes in contact, and the eccentricities of his own character are drawn more effectively by contrast with Gladstone, Sir Evelyn Baring, and Lord Hartington, with his characteristic comment, so lacking in heroics, "The proudest moment of my life, was when my pig won the prize at Skipton fair."(29)

Both in the central figure of the biographies and in the subordinate characters, Lytton Strachey employs what was to become a dangerous weapon in his hands, but which, in Eminent Victorians, has the evidence of documents or of achievement mostly to support it; he attempts to read the mind of the person being discussed at the time. Examples of this process of psychological analysis are to be found in all of the biographies - Newman's problem about the Catholic Church, leading to the writing of Tract XC, Florence Nightingale's visions of the reform of military hospitals and Lord Panmure's wish to be rid of her and devote himself to the Free Church of Scotland, Dr. Arnold's thoughts as to how to produce Christian Gentlemen and how to evolve the prefect system, and, most detailed of all, the analysis of the motives of the government leading to Gordon's being sent to the Sudan, and the working of Lord Hartington's mind to the point when he felt they had a duty to Gordon.(30) As yet, however, Strachey is careful to restrict the attempt to set forth the thoughts of his creations to the occasions when there is evidence, or at least strong probability, and to state clearly when there is only assumption. This he does in connection with the appointment of Gordon to the Sudan, where he says, "We are in the region of speculations; one other presents itself," and then, "But it is time to return to the solidity of fact."(31)

In consequence of all these methods one might say of his own



work what Strachey wrote of Saint-Simon in Landmarks in French Literature, "He excels in that most difficult art of presenting the outward characteristics of persons, calling up before the imagination not only the details of their physical appearance, but the more recondite effects of their manner and their bearing, so that, when he has finished, one almost feels that one has met the man. But his excellence does not stop there. It is upon the inward creature that he expends his most lavish care - upon the soul that sits behind the eyelids, upon the purpose and passion that linger in a gesture or betray themselves in a word....When he had fashioned to his liking his terrific images..... he never forgot in the extremity of his ferocity, to commit the last insult, and to breathe into their nostrils the fatal breath of life."(32)

As with few biographers, Lytton Strachey's style is an ever present instrument in his achievement. In his attempt to make biography an art, Strachey's style seldom deserts him. It may reveal itself in a figure of speech, such as this, "Mr. Russell was little better than a fly buzzing in gossamer," with its characteristic addition, "And Manning was careful to see that he buzzed on the right note."(33) It may appear in the echo of a particular phrase, where Newman, feeling it to be "God's will" decides to settle down at Birmingham, and Strachey comments, "But God's will was not quite so simple as that."(34) It may be seen in the vivid pictorial power of the passage describing Pio Nono's procession to St. Peter's before the fall of Rome.(35) It may take the significant detail, such as the dust on Cardinal Manning's hat in the Cathedral, and give that a wider symbolism.(36)

(37)

It is used also in Lytton Strachey's drawing of character. One feature is the habit of making the characters pose questions to themselves, and is part of the reading of their minds. A second feature is that he makes the characters human, by making them not wax statues, but at times something less than human. Lytton Strachey's fondness for similes and metaphors drawn from the animal world is so striking that it deserves illustration. Of the clash between

Manning and Newman he writes, "It was the meeting of the eagle and the dove; there was a hovering. a swoop, and then the quick beak and the relentless talons did their work." (38) Mrs. Nightingale's disturbance over her daughter's unconventiality, according to the biographer, is because she imagines that she has bred a wild swan, then he adds, "But the poor lady was wrong; it was not a swan that they had hatched; it was an eagle." (39) One more example from those which might have been selected is the comparison in the Life of Florence Nightingale between Lord Panmure, the bison, and Sidney Herbert, the stag, Florence Nightingale's prey, "One has the image of those wide eyes fascinated suddenly by something feline; something strong; there is a pause; and then the tigress has her claws in the quivering haunches; and then - !" (40) Along with the examples already chosen, in Strachey's comment on Arnold's piety shown by his condemnation of Leben Jesu without reading it, appears one more element, the characteristic Stracheyan irony.

This brings us back once more to the Preface to Eminent Victorians, in which Strachey, as he sought to remedy the other deficiencies of previous biography, wishes to supply its lack of detachment. There, he claims for the biographer freedom of spirit, saying, "It is not his business to be complimentary; it is his business to lay bare the facts of the case as he understands them." As his motto he would adopt, "Je n'impose rien; je ne propose rien; j'expose." (42) It would thus appear that Strachey's ideal would be that of Flaubert, to have history written, "sans amour et sans haine...exactement comme le bon Dieu voit les choses d'en haut." Bonamy Dobrée, in his Essays in Biography, regards such an ideal as impossible of fulfilment, in biography at least, for the intimacy which biography brings must arouse love or hate in the biographer. (43) With Lytton Strachey, too, the appearance of detachment is more apparent than real, for his use of the phrase, "j'expose," suggests a point of view, and the suggestion is carried further by his varied irony. This irony is directed partly against the gap between man's professions and his practice, - and in this it is a definite criticism of life -

but partly also it is a sense of the irony inherent in human destiny.

That Lytton Strachey had his own point of view can be seen from a number of examples in Eminent Victorians. The sight of Wiseman torn between Manning and Errington rouses him to pity; righteous anger wells up within him at the thought of the condition of the wounded at Scutari, and in proportion there is admiration for the heroic services of Florence Nightingale.(44) Even his attitude to Florence Nightingale as a person suggests an individual point of view, for, rejecting the popular conception of her as a ministering angel, he prefers to think of her as possessed by a demon, and thus he writes, "Certainly she was heroic. Yet her heroism was not of that simple sort so dear to the readers of novels and the compilers of hagiologies - the romantic sentimental heroism with which mankind loves to invest its chosen darlings. It was made of sterner stuff."(45)

To two topics particularly did Lytton Strachey bring his own point of view, and, however fair he might pretend to be, he was certainly not impartial. The first of these is religion, the second the Victorian Age as a whole. In the article in the Criterion 1929, entitled A Note on Historical Biography and Mr. Strachey, Charles Smyth disables Strachey as a historian because of his attitude to Christianity, and what Mr. Smyth calls his "sniggers" at Revealed Religion.(46) Writing still more strongly in Roman Converts, Arnold Lunn had earlier written of Strachey's claim to impartiality, "Indeed the claim might almost pass, if Mr. Strachey avoided religion, but where his theme demands some sympathy with religious temperaments, his impartiality is the genial disdain of an anthropologist studying fetish worship."(47)

That the general temper of Strachey's mind was sceptical is undoubted. It is true, also, that his own educational ideals differed widely from those of Arnold, and that fact gives an ironic tinge to certain sections of the biography. It is the case, moreover, that on General Gordon he felt the influence of his particular kind of Christianity to be as exciting, and even intoxicating, as that of the



"B. and S." which Strachey pictures him as imbibing. These things, however, are so obvious that the reader can as easily make the necessary allowances as he can with Gibbon. In the case of Cardinal Manning, we are entitled to ask whether Strachey has not, from a secret bias, distorted his material, and ultimately the personality of his subject. Such was the opinion of Arnold Lunn in his section on Manning in Roman Converts. In support of his view, he takes several instances in the biography. The first of these is the incident from Wilfrid Ward's Life of Newman, reported by the Curate of Littlemore, later Canon Irvine. Unlike that recorded in Strachey's biography, we learn that Newman's visit to Littlemore was in the company of Father St. John and that Newman's distressed reply of "Oh, no, no!" was not in answer to the question, "Was it Dr. Newman he had the honour of addressing?" but to a suggestion that he should see his old friends in the village. Here, however, it would appear that Arnold Lunn has misunderstood Strachey, for Newman's reply seems to have been given to questions as to whether nothing could be done.(48) The evidence does nevertheless suggest a certain working up by Strachey of his material. Again, Strachey implies that Manning's attitude to his wife's death was due to lack of sentiment, instead of being the result of his devotion to the Church, and to his dislike of being reminded that he had lived in matrimony. In support of this point, reference is made to an article by Baron von Hügel in the Times Literary Supplement, wherein are recorded Manning's last words in the presence of Father Vaughan, words which show that he had treasured his wife's prayer-book ever since her death, and had used it daily.(49) There is too Strachey's suggestion that the change of religion was due to ambition, whereas Manning was sacrificing a brilliant career in the Anglican church because he felt his soul imperilled outside the Church of Rome. Certainly, in this case, Strachey had no evidence from the Diary, which is silent about the interview with the Pope, yet the biographer imagines a conversation three years earlier, in which the Pope held out prospects of advancement. This suggestion he follows up after the narrative of Manning's conversion, with the comment,

"Nevertheless it is difficult to feel quite sure that Manning's plunge was as hazardous as it appeared. Certainly he was not a man who was likely to forget to look before he leaped, nor one who, if he happened to know that there was a mattress spread to receive him, would leap with less conviction." (50) Strachey's picture of Manning as an ecclesiastical adventurer is made a little difficult by Manning's refusal to allow his name to go forward for the office on the death of Pope Pius IX, lest Italy should be lost to the Roman Catholic Church. Strachey is also too prone, and on insufficient evidence, to assume that Manning's conduct with regard to Newman was dictated by envy. The fact is that Manning, after being a consistent Anglican, became a consistent Catholic, to whom Papal Infallibility and an Ultramontane policy were the logical consequence of his belief. In so far as Newman represented the Gallican standpoint, he was a menace to the Church. (51)

Now, what Lunn says is true, but there is an important point overlooked by him in his criticism of Lytton Strachey's Life of Cardinal Manning. It is that one of Strachey's main sources was E.S. Purcell's Life of Cardinal Manning, nor was he able to interpret that source accurately because, as the bibliography shows, of his not having used François de Pressensé's Cardinal Manning, and because he could not know the additional facts brought to light in Shane Leslie's Henry Edward Manning published in 1921.

On the surface, Purcell would appear to be the best possible source to consult about Manning, for he claims to have been told between 1886 and 1890 the story of the Cardinal's life, and had been put in possession of many letters, diaries, and autobiographical fragments. For our purpose, the charge brought by De Pressensé of ignorance, contradictions, inaccurate quotations, and falsifying of dates is less important than the spirit of detraction with which he declares Purcell wrote his biography. (52) It is indeed true that Purcell misses no opportunity to create an unfavourable impression. Despite Manning's letter, which Purcell actually prints, in which he declares to his brother Frederick in 1832, "...my mind has settled into

a preference for the Church; without which feeling I never could have discharged its duties otherwise than as an irksome and unpleasant labour," Purcell suggests that Manning deceived himself when, fifty years later, he spoke of the change from the Colonial Office as being a call "*ad veritatem et ad seipsum*." (53) His dislike of Tractarianism Purcell also hints was due to his never championing an unpopular or losing cause. (54) On two points Pressensé is able to show that Purcell who, as a Catholic, should have known better, misrepresented the facts. Instead of Manning's being guilty of backstairs intrigues with Monsignor Talbot, he was officially charged to look after matters at the Roman court, and the recognized way of affairs intended for the Pope's ear, but not going through the College of Propaganda, was through his accredited representative the Chamberlain. In his communications with Monsignor Talbot, Manning was only following the example of his colleagues. (55) The second point is that in the dispute about Errington as Wiseman's coadjutor and successor, Manning may have disapproved of Errington, but he was also Wiseman's Procurator appointed by him to represent him at Rome. (56) If it is true, as Shane Leslie records, that Cardinal Vaughan said of Purcell's Life, "I do not recognize the portrait of him. with whom I was in constant communication during forty years," (57) it was not Strachey's fault, merely his misfortune, that he should choose such an unreliable source.

It is only indeed over the question of Newman's being made a Cardinal that we find Lytton Strachey departing from the facts as told by Purcell. In this narrative, we find minor alterations, such as Strachey's suggesting that Manning's letter to Leo XIII was unaccountably delayed, whereas Cardinal Howard, who was to take it, was delayed and he raised again personally the point previously brought up by the Duke of Norfolk. Purcell, too, is willing to admit that Manning accepted in sincerity as a refusal Newman's objection about having to reside in Rome. Strachey instead of printing two letters to Manning from the Bishop of Birmingham, dated on consecutive days, emphasises the feeling of intrigue by saying



that Manning received two letters one public, one private. Finally, Purcell shows that Manning acted from genuine misapprehension, his clear-cut intellect being unable to follow the windings of Newman's mind, and that he repaired it the instant he knew it was an error. Strachey, on the other hand, implies that, knowing what Newman intended, Manning was glad of the opportunity to stand in his way, though, in actual fact, with the change of Pope and a new spirit at the Vatican the time had passed when Manning wielded so much sway. (58)

The study of Manning's character is incomplete as Purcell lacked certain letters printed by Shane Leslie. The possession of these would have enabled Purcell, and consequently Strachey, to see that Manning did not manoeuvre for himself the position of successor to Wiseman, that names of three people were suggested by him, all of whom would have made good Archbishops of Westminster, and that his appointment came from Rome itself. (59) Undoubtedly Shane Leslie was guided by his conception of Manning as a great churchman, and that Strachey too recognized him to be. While Strachey's biography could not, even had he so desired, have gone into the details of the part played by Manning with Florence Nightingale in the crisis of the Crimean War, of his policy of education for the Catholic clergy, and his attitude to the Church in Ireland, on Manning's place as a social reformer Strachey is prepared to do him as much justice as his later biographer. (60) The fact is that if Strachey had a little less than sympathy with the religious struggle conveyed in Manning's diary, which, be it noted, he printed as an essential part of the biography, with his humanist outlook, he could admire Manning for his philanthropic work. For his gifts revealed in his action over the Dockers' Strike (61) Strachey had nothing but respect, and the one element so counter-balances the other that, if Manning does not emerge unscathed, his is a living portrait of a great churchman.

In the four biographies of Eminent Victorians, Lytton Strachey had taken four types disfigured by panegyric - Dr. Arnold representing

the Public School Tradition, General Gordon the Christian Soldier, Florence Nightingale the Angel of Mercy, and Cardinal Manning the Saintly Prelate - and he had made them human by treating them with Johnson's own frankness. But there was more in it than that, for they belonged to an age, when, as Sampson expresses it in his article on "Modern Developments" in biography, "The admission of human weakness or natural frailty was resented as if it were a malicious perversion of the truth." (62) There is no doubt that, though the bulk of Arnold's life lay outside the reign of Queen Victoria, in these four Strachey saw representatives of an age. How far then, we may ask, was he a competent judge of that age? Did his belief in intellectual honesty, his dislike of the commonplace and the conventional, his faith in reason and the human intelligence disable him as a critic of that era, and reduce his biographies to an attempt to "debunk", to use an Americanism, the idols of a previous age?

Now there is no doubt that he felt the Victorian era as "a singular epoch," and was wont to apply to it the adjective "peculiar." In the collection of essays appearing under the title, Characters and Commentaries, we find a review of the Supplement to Horace Walpole's Letters entitled "The Eighteenth Century," and in it Lytton Strachey sums up, as well as he can do in a short space, his own attitude. While recognizing that we appreciate the pleasures without considering the disadvantages of the 18th century, he writes of Walpole's letters, "The aroma of a wonderful age comes wafting out from these few hundred pages, and enchants our senses. Why is it that the eighteenth century so particularly delights us? Are we perhaps simply reacting against a reaction? Is the twentieth century so fond of the eighteenth because the nineteenth disliked it so intensely? No doubt that is partly the reason; but the whole truth lies deeper. Every age has a grudge against its predecessor, and generally the grudge is well founded." (63) It would seem then that Strachey's reaction against the Victorian era is part of the Post-War swing of the pendulum against those who, by the foundations of society they had laid, had been held responsible for

that cataclysm. Such is the opinion of Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, who, in The Victorian Sunset, says that the Victorians were so sure of themselves that iconoclasm becomes "the only relief for the feelings of the ordinary modern.....The game of Victorian Aunt Sally, first discovered - but unhappily not patented - by Lytton Strachey, has turned out to be one of the most profitable on record. There are few of us who have not a sneaking sympathy with the unjust Athenian who voted for the ostracism of Aristides, because he was sick of hearing him called the Just." (64) That there was such an element in Strachey's reaction to the Victorian Age must be admitted. In the religion which had its value in an outward respectability and orderliness, but which had no philosophical foundation and which was based on a belief once vital but decade by decade crumbling into ruin, in the science which set itself up as a rival religion to Christianity, in the increasing control over the material world without a corresponding spiritual advance and readjustment to a changing environment, in the social system which, whatever the progress achieved, was without elegance, culture, and humanity, Strachey found much to ridicule. It must be recognized, however, of some of these features of Victorian life that the greatest of the Victorians including Carlyle had themselves been extremely critical, and that the swing against Victorianism had begun before the War. Before the influence of Lytton Strachey had taken effect, on the literary side there was the first attack of Butler's The Way of All Flesh. It must be acknowledged also that Strachey was not merely an iconoclast.

The volumes Books and Characters, 1922, and Characters and Commentaries, 1933, publications of work belonging to different periods of Strachey's life, as well as Portraits in Miniature, show that Strachey was capable of admiration. As a critic he can admire the tragic intensity of Racine and the enlargement to one's boundary of art which comes from an appreciation of his style. He can admire Madame du Deffand, because she was a "past mistress of that most difficult of literary accomplishments - 'l'art de dire en un mot tout ce qu'un mot peut dire.'" Sir Thomas Browne also can win his



admiration as a stylist as well as Pope's simplicity of which he writes "How delightful to have no trouble at all - to understand so very, very easily every single thing that is said!" The letters of Gray and Cowper arouse his commendation but so also can those of Byron and of Keats.(65) But it is for more than their criticism that these books are interesting. One sees Strachey at home in the world of the French salon, with the smooth flow of their days, the wit and grace of life. The period of Voltaire's visit to England in 1726-28 is for him a period of unparalleled amenity. The England of Pope, of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, is for him the golden age, an enchanted island "of delight and of repose" amid the troubled sea of History.(66) It is an age favourable to literature because tolerant, and enjoying a repose incredible before or since. It is an age both intellectually and aesthetically alive. And yet, Strachey is no mere figure misplaced from the age of Pope, Addison, Steele, and Swift, though he shares their virtues of clarity, refinement, and restraint; he is a modern also, by temperament and sensibility, a modern who in Books and Characters can understand Rousseau, of whom he writes, "Among those quick, strong, fiery people of the eighteenth century, he belonged to another world - to the new world of self-consciousness, and doubt, and hesitation, of mysterious melancholy, and quiet intimate delights, of long reflexions amid the solitudes of Nature."(67) Nor is he a Bloomsbury intellectual and aesthete shrinking from the rude contact of the Victorians, robust with the abundant life of Dickens characters. Just because he was to a degree the product of the Victorian era, there are about it, different and even reacting from the 18th century as it was, things which Strachey can appreciate. When it has shed its trappings, there are features of the age of abiding greatness, and before these Strachey stands uncovered. When people have forgotten the unfortunate extremes of his so-called followers, they are bound to return to Lytton Strachey for his serious contribution to the art of biography, for his scholarship, his psychological power, his elegance, and his artistic integrity.

From these studies in the Victorian era, Lytton Strachey was led to write about the embodiment and symbol of the age, Queen Victoria herself. In his Queen Victoria published in 1921, we find Strachey studying still more deeply the material of his period. The type of material most employed by him is that of an intimate, even maliciously intimate kind. For Victoria's earliest years there is the information supplied by Viscount Esher's The Girlhood of Queen Victoria, and from it are drawn the interesting Journal entries about her confirmation and about the visits of her cousins, with the enthusiastic references to "dearest Albert." (68) The letters of Queen Victoria are also employed, both for family, and later for public events. The Greville memoirs form part of his material, and though Disraeli might say of them to Lady Bradford, "when he was not scandalous, he was prolix and prosy - a clumsy, wordy writer," (69) whatever Strachey does with the material Greville supplies, the result is not "prolix." While the published part of the memoirs gives much of the vivid detail of the portrait of Lord Melbourne, (70) Strachey draws upon the unpublished parts also in a manner which the great Queen would have described as "not very discreet." These unpublished parts are the source of the court scandal connected with Lady Flora Hastings, whose death brought unpopularity upon the Queen. (71) When we come to the period of her married life, Strachey uses those important sources of information about the Prince Consort - Stockmar and his biographer Martin, but for the tasks undertaken by the Prince he seeks out details from articles, seven in all, from The Times of 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1844. (72) The Queen's Journal of our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861 proves a valuable source for life at Balmoral before the Prince's death. Biographies of the great Victorian statesmen, such as Buckle's Life of Benjamin Disraeli are employed at times. (73) Although the material for the Queen's old age is scanty compared with that up to the Prince's death, Strachey's personal knowledge and characteristic stories drawn from those who were her servants give a special vividness to the material he does employ; nevertheless,

over the latter half of her career he felt that there was darkness, the veil only lifting for a moment - "the rest is all conjecture and ambiguity." In the absence of authentic documents he felt, "We must be content in our ignorance with a brief and summary relation." (74)

From this type of material again we see, as in Eminent Victorians, Strachey select with a clear-cut intention. The letters between Queen Victoria and King Leopold are chosen because significant of much still partly hidden in her character. The description of the last days of Lord Melbourne provide the close of an act of the Queen's life. Because it was so characteristic of the age, and provided such a good opportunity for revealing the character of both husband and wife, an unusually large section is devoted to the Great Exhibition. (75) About the Prince's memorandum on the Schleswig-Holstein question, and the attempt to remove Palmerston from the Foreign Office, Strachey is explicit in his reason for its inclusion, saying, "In a memorandum made by the Prince about this time, of an interview between himself, the Queen, and the Prime Minister, we catch a curious glimpse of the states of mind of those three high personages." (76) Although it may not be authentic, he selects Queen Victoria's remark that Gladstone speaks to her as if she were a public meeting, because it expresses an element in her antipathy. One feels that here Strachey's sympathy is with the Queen, rather than with Gladstone, when he writes, "She had no objection to being considered as an institution; she was one, and she knew it. But she was a woman too, and to be considered only as an institution - that was unbearable." (77)

Not only does Lytton Strachey choose his material with deliberate art, but in his handling of it we see also his attempt to give a finished production. The series of sentences of advice from King Leopold to the child about to be Queen are like so many beads on a chain. (78) Again there is artistic unity in the picture of the happy relationship between the young Queen and Lord Melbourne, then the word picture of the two, a series of entries showing how he helped in state business, a sketch of their daily routine, a sample



of the talk at a drawing-room drawn from the Greville Memoirs, the section describing the Queen's diversions, then the brief vivid picture of her coronation, and the final human touch of her hastening home, discarding her state robes to give her dog Dash its bath.

(79) When he can, Strachey draws from his material all the drama that he conceives it to possess, as in the struggle with Peel over the Ladies of the Household.(80) Nowhere does Strachey show better his command over his material than in his summarising of Gladstone's reforms and the way in which he relates them to their effect on the mind of the Queen.(81)

Occasionally, Strachey introduces the element of conversation into this biography, as in the debate between Peel and the Queen over the Ladies of the Household, where he gives it dramatic form.(82) Another element occasionally interspersed is the anecdote, always characteristic. The story of Victoria, then Drina, reproving at the age of six little Lady Jane Ellice for touching her toys shows that even at that age she realized the niceties of her position.(83) Of her old age, we are told how the Prince of Wales at the age of at least fifty arrived late for a party at Osborne, how from behind a pillar he wiped the sweat from his brow nerving himself to meet his mother, how his emergence was greeted by a stiff nod and he retreated again behind it for the rest of the evening.(84) That Strachey never told stories simply for their own sake, but because they were symbolic of personality, can be seen from the way in which he describes Victoria's first being told of her future."When the child at last understood, she was silent for a moment, and then she spoke: 'I will be good' she said. The words were something more than a conventional protestation, something more than the expression of a superimposed desire; they were in their limitation and their intensity, their egotism and their humility, an instinctive summary of the dominating qualities of a life."(85)

From his handling of the material, Lytton Strachey is able to preserve the very delicate balance between the background and the story to be unfolded, the personality to be delineated. This was more

than usually difficult when the subject was a Queen, for, as Sidney Lee had realized in writing about her at the beginning of the century, "The circumstance of politics is to a large extent the scenery of every sovereign's biography, but it is the duty of a biographer sternly to subordinate his scenery to the actor who is alone his just concern." (86) It is indeed one of the merits of Strachey's Queen Victoria that he constantly enables us to see the Queen against the background of national and international events, but they never become more than a background. Even in the difficult situation of Britain, supporting Prussia against Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein dispute, we see the Queen, influenced by her dead husband, throwing all her powers of persuasion into the scale of the peace party. (87) The Queen and the private individual are again balanced when Disraeli's gallantry to her as a woman is set against the background of Russian relationships and the new Imperialism. (88)

Once more, however, the means and the end are clearly differentiated, and it is with the drawing of character that Strachey is ultimately concerned. Externally he does it by several methods noted in Eminent Victorians. The first and most obvious is his sketches of pictorial quality, showing the character at different, significant points. We see the passionate young "Drina" before the appearance of Fraulein Lehzen; we see the young Queen at her first Council, walking with grace and dignity, alone; we see Victoria in her married happiness, sharing her work, and visiting with her husband; we see her in seclusion, dedicating herself to the sacred trust bestowed by her husband; we see her in harmonious and beautiful old age, in her pastimes and interests conserving everything that belongs to the past; and we see her on the occasion of her Jubilee. "The long journey was nearly done. But the traveller, who had come so far, and through such strange experiences, moved on with the old unfaltering step. The girl, the wife, the aged woman, were the same; vitality, conscientiousness, pride, and simplicity were hers to the latest hour." (89)

Not only with Queen Victoria is this method adopted, but with the

varied figures which crowd the stage along with her. To all of them, Empress Eugénie, the Prince Consort, Lord Beaconsfield, is a vivid life given. Moreover, for each one of them there is a vivid piece of characterisation, from a rapid significant sketch to a passage of subtle analysis. The thumb-nail sketch of the exuberant old King William, the study of Lord Melbourne, the young Albert, trained by Stockmar, the bold intuitive Palmerston whose habits are contrasted with those of the Prince Consort, the romantic Disraeli, and John Brown, the Prince's gillie and later the Queen's personal attendant, are amongst those whom Strachey has brought to life, as companions to the Queen.(90)

Again, however, his characterisation of an objective kind proved but the foundation, nor is he satisfied with showing character expressing itself in action. Although these elements are there, to them he adds the attempt to read the mind of the people, to reveal their innermost personality. He takes us into the mind of the Queen when she has decided against marriage, then shows us the change which was wrought in favour of Albert.(91) He shows us the Prince's thoughts about his unhappiness in his environment, and his growing sense of failure; one of the most sympathetic parts of the book is where he writes thus of the Prince Consort, "The causes of his melancholy were hidden, mysterious, unanalysable perhaps - too deeply rooted in the innermost recesses of his temperament for the eyes of reason to apprehend. There were contradictions in his own nature, which, to some of those who knew him best, made him seem an inexplicable enigma: he was severe and gentle; he was modest and scornful; he longed for affection and he was cold. He was lonely, not merely with the loneliness of exile, but with the loneliness of conscious and unrecognised superiority."(92) In contrast with this, he lets us see the Queen sitting happily amidst her family, going over in her mind the sources and occasions for her happiness. Most striking of all, is the moving beauty of the Queen's thoughts as she lay dying, and there spread before her inward eye the pageant that had been her life.(93)



The degree to which Strachey has mastered his material to bring to life the age of Victoria, and in particular the figure of the Queen herself, can be gauged from the scholarly and impartial biography by Sidney Lee. This biography enables us to see the kind of material omitted by Strachey. Her girlhood tours to the houses of noblemen in 1832, 1833, and 1835, because they would not fit into the pattern have been omitted.(94) So, too, are the public ceremonies after the accession in 1837, the colonial difficulties especially about Canada, and the factual parts about the royal procession at the Coronation.(95) Though one may feel surprised that Strachey missed the meeting of the Queen and Macaulay, when he occupied the post of Paymaster-General in Lord John Russell's ministry, and the record of Mendelssohn's visit to the Court,(96) in almost every other case material has been rejected by Lytton Strachey because it could not be given the quality of life, because it would involve a complexity alien to his plan, because it would remove the Queen from the central place in the stage, or because it would leave loose ends in the tapestry of her life. With his unerring sense for what is interesting, Strachey has slurred over dull stretches of historical facts without the reader's being aware of a gap. Even where Lee and Strachey use the same material, we are conscious of the greater artistry of Lytton Strachey's handling. On several occasions he treats the same scene with more dramatic quality, and gives to others more of the pictorial element; greater condensation is achieved by Strachey through his omission of a section, for example, dealing with the Prince's share in smoothing over the affair of the Trent, thus averting war with America, so that he is able to give continuously the paragraphs dealing with the Prince's illness and his death;(97) for the relationship of the aged Queen and Disraeli, Strachey also adds a picturesque quality lacking in the earlier biography.(98)

Just because Lytton Strachey's biography was so much alive, it aroused a storm of protest. Just because he never gave to her qualities she did not possess, and refused to draw her as a phantom of divine proportions, he was immediately assailed by those who

wished from his pen an eulogy. Quiller-Couch, for example, in his Studies in Literature, Second Series, condemns the book for its mockery of the age and of the Queen. To him she was the dignified figure of her forty years of widowhood, not the exuberantly affectionate wife of the Prince Consort. Others saw in it a certain mockery of conjugal felicity, and a studied attempt to depreciate. Quiller-Couch described Queen Victoria as a book "artfully conceived and executed in the spirit of detraction." (99) One more point of view was that Strachey had come to scoff, and had remained, if not to pray, at least to admire. Let us examine these various views of the truthfulness of Strachey's portrait of Queen Victoria.

It has already been seen that, if not definitely hostile to, Strachey was not in sympathy with the Victorian era, and it might be expected that in approaching the fountain-head of Victorianism, the attitude revealed in his earlier book should be intensified. That he did regard the Queen as characteristic of her age, is true, for speaking of her marriage, and the new standard of propriety, he says this, "But she was no longer Lord M.'s pupil: she was Albert's wife. She was more - the embodiment, the living apex of a new era in the generations of mankind. The last vestige of the eighteenth century had disappeared; cynicism and subtlety were shrivelled into powder; and duty, industry, morality, and domesticity triumphed over them. Even the very chairs and tables had assumed, with a singular responsiveness, the forms of prim solidity. The Victorian Age was in full swing." (100) Now, though the first and the last parts of Queen Victoria's reign form a marked contrast, one aspect of it could not be better summed up than Strachey has done. In actual fact, too, it is as an independent human being that Strachey persists in thinking of Queen Victoria, not as an embodiment of an epoch. To come to Strachey's picture of Queen Victoria as wife, it is of course alien to his art that the spirit of irony should be absent. It appears in the ironic repetition of a phrase from the Diary, "Particularly Albert;" as an introduction to the plans for the education of the royal family, we have "The royal nurseries showed

no sign of emptying;" and on the size of the Albert Memorial, he makes the comment, "It was rightly supposed that the simple word 'Albert' cast on the base would be a sufficient means of identification."(101) To Lytton Strachey, with his self-restraint, there was something a little comic about the Queen's exuberance on the subject of her husband, but having said this, we have said all there is on this side. On the other must be placed the fact that Lytton Strachey alone showed the Prince Consort as a man worthy of the Queen's regard, as a man of fine brain, wide sympathy, and kingly quality. When the Prince appears he is a living person, drawn with skill and sympathy. Strachey not only saw clearly what he himself intended to do, but he saw why others had failed in their attempt to delineate the Prince's character. Of the official biography, and the Queen's disappointment that the public refused to appreciate her husband properly, this is what he says, "She did not understand that the picture of an embodied perfection is distasteful to the majority of mankind. The cause is not so much envy of the perfect being as a suspicion that he must be inhuman; and thus it happened that the public when it saw displayed for its admiration a figure resembling the sugary hero of a moral story-book rather than a fellow-man of flesh and blood, turned away with a shrug, a smile, and a flippant ejaculation. But in this the public was the loser as well as Victoria. For in truth Albert was a far more interesting personage than the public dreamed. By a curious irony an impeccable waxwork had been fixed by the Queen's love in the popular imagination, while the creature whom it represented - the real creature, so full of energy and stress and torment, so mysterious and so unhappy, and so fallible, and so very human - had altogether disappeared."(102)

If this was Strachey's point of view for her husband, it equally represented his attitude to the Queen. Very different was his attitude from that of Sir Theodore Martin in Queen Victoria as I knew her. Having been brought into contact with the Queen through his official task of writing her husband's biography, the author is able to give a picture of her as a woman, supplementing it from her voluminous



correspondence. With such familiarity, it is obvious that he had numerous opportunities of supplying additional information about the Queen, and of part of that Strachey availed himself. Apart from Theodore Martin's tendency to obtrude his own affairs, the main difference between them is that Martin's object is to eulogise the Queen from the time of his first acquaintance with her. The charges brought against her he feels it his duty to rebut, and as many incidents as possible are introduced to show the Queen's graciousness, her charm, her womanly sympathy, her gentleness save when a judgment of something evil was required, her dignity combined with humility, her self-sacrifice as a Queen, and her value as a friend. He wishes us to remember her as "Victoria the Great and Good." (103)

Now, many of these attributes may actually have belonged to Queen Victoria, but Strachey knew too well what was the consequence of drawing a personality simply by assembling them. His figure of Queen Victoria is alive just because he was prepared to admit the presence in her of human weakness. He was prepared to reveal the element of hardness in Victoria's character, the lack of intellectual depth which characterised her through life, the insensibility to art, and the comparative shallowness of her religion. (104) He was prepared also to show the extravagances into which her lack of imagination and of humour led her. This admitted, however, there were certain qualities of Queen Victoria which throughout inspired his sincere admiration. As a child she was truthful, and even in her choice of the National Anthem he was prepared to see evidence of her love of truth, rather than her tact. Her vigour and vitality he does not fail to emphasise. He speaks of her "irresistible sincerity," adding "and in truth it was an endearing trait." (105) The picture of Queen Victoria in old age is not one drawn by a mere iconoclast, for he writes there of her "unforgettable charm" saying, "In her last years there was a fascination in Victoria's amiability, which had been lacking even from the vivid impulse of her youth." (106) It will thus be clear that to the woman, Victoria, Strachey does ample justice, remaining to the end attracted to and repelled by qualities which

do not change in the course of the biography. But he is conscious, also, of her queenliness, and even her most blinded idolaters could hardly have written with more appreciation than where he contrasts the Queen with her visitor Empress Eugénie, ...."true majesty was hers, and she knew it. More than once, when the two were together in public, it was the woman to whom, as it seemed, nature and art had given so little, who by the sheer force of an inherent grandeur, completely threw her adorned and beautiful companion into the shade." (107) By virtue, therefore, of its truthfulness, its artistry, and its creation of a living woman, this picture of Queen Victoria will last, when the biographies of her defenders have been forgotten.

With Elizabeth and Essex in 1928, Strachey carries on the tradition of his two earlier biographical works, but, as will be seen, both the subject and the treatment involve a modification of the result. Although the bibliography contains references to contemporary material, we are conscious that not only did Lytton Strachey know less about the Elizabethan Age than he did about the Victorian, but that there was less for him to know. Amongst his material we find letters of Essex, especially those to the Queen, letters from, and about, members of the Bacon family, and letters to the Queen from various courtiers. Key sentences from Bacon's essays are employed to show his state of mind in 1597, while speeches, including that of the Queen to the speaker of the House of Commons on the subject of monopolies and of her love to her people, are also used. (108) Nevertheless, the general effect is barer than that produced by the abundance of material for the earlier biographies.

Granted that, Elizabeth and Essex shows the same power of concentration. The ancestry of Essex, the outline of his career, the contradictions of his taste and character, his meeting with the Queen, and their first summer together in 1587 are all compressed into four vividly written pages. (109) Equally well done is the section dealing with Bacon, where we can also see Strachey's skill in slipping into the final picture details of fact; here he works into the dreams of Bacon over the Attorney-Generalship the little

detail picked up from Aubrey of Bacon's hatred of the smell of ordinary leather.(110) Constantly the events are grouped to give the artistic unity and the dramatic quality of a scene in a play. One of the best of these sections is from the point where Essex loses his illusion, and sees that Tyrone must be crushed, to that where he suddenly appears before the Queen in her bedroom, and Strachey sees her "unpainted, without her wig, her grey hair hanging in wisps about her face, and her eyes starting from her head." (111) To achieve this effect, he combines extracts from letters, analysis of the situation, working of the mind, narrative, and the final vivid scene.

Criticism has been made of the way in which Strachey seems, for once, to allow his material to escape his control in the section devoted to the tragedy of Dr. Lopez. Indeed, there are occasions when the artistry of the book seems less certain than in the two previous biographies, and this incident does appear to occupy a place proportionately too large for its importance. On the other hand, skilful use is made of it to bring out the clash between Essex and the Cecils.(112) Occasionally there is included an unsubordinated anecdote, or Strachey is betrayed into dallying with a minor character. It must be remembered, however, that he is not here writing pure biography, for in this book character is a key to history, and any picture of the Elizabethan Age must include some study of people such as Bacon. If this is admitted, one would not willingly omit the passage in which Strachey writes, "Francis Bacon has been described more than once with the crude vigour of antithesis; but in truth such methods are singularly inappropriate to his most unusual case. It was not by the juxtaposition of a few opposites, but by the infiltration of a multitude of highly varied elements that his mental composition was made up. He was no striped frieze; he was shot silk. The detachment of speculation, the intensity of personal pride, the uneasiness of nervous sensibility, the urgency of ambition, the opulence of superb taste - these qualities, blending, twisting, flashing together, gave to his secret spirit the



subtle and glittering superficialities of a serpent."(113) More than once does this image of a serpent recur about Bacon, whose decision to obey the government command, and take part in the trial of Essex, Strachey describes thus, "Inspired with the ingenious grandeur of the serpent, he must display to the full the long luxury of his coils. One watches, fascinated, the glittering allurements; one desires in vain to turn away one's face." Yet, at the end, Bacon is for Strachey an old man, alone on Highgate hill "stuffing a dead fowl with snow."(114)

This section has been discussed in detail because it shows, perhaps better than the principal figures, the vividness with which the book is written. In it is to be found much of the dramatic quality which Strachey could impart to his material - the clash of personalities, the vivid scene, the play of motive, and the final action. Of this kind is the scene between the Queen and Essex over Ireland, her boxing of his ears, his oath and shout of anger, his sudden rush from the room, followed, in a later chapter, by the drama of their reconciliation.(115) Again, Strachey can give us a characteristic picture of whichever of the characters he chooses - Elizabeth's appearance, her occupations and the strange blending of man and woman in her nature, Cecil at his Secretary's desk, and Essex as he went to meet his doom, to name only three of them.(116)

Because there is not such a straightforward story to tell, more of the book is devoted to the analysis of character. Philip of Spain, Cecil, and Bacon are drawn with particular care; but the most elaborate characterisation, as we should expect, is bestowed upon Essex and upon Queen Elizabeth. Not in her case could Strachey adopt the direct method possible with Queen Victoria. The peculiar quality of her zig-zagging policy, the nature, intellectual and temperamental, of her indecision had to be grasped. The contrasts of her physical being, and her emotional development, each had to be given a place. Contrary, however, to the method adopted by him earlier, Lytton Strachey had a preconceived idea of Elizabeth and of Essex, and his material had to be marshalled accordingly.

Yet, the facts do not seem to fit in with his conception of Elizabeth and Essex as representing the conflict between two ages, she the representative of a new living one, he representing the dying organism of the Middle Ages.(117) Without sufficient proof, he comments on a letter of Essex to the Queen, that it was the challenge of the past rather than of the future speaking, "The blood of a hundred Barons who had paid small heed to the Lord's anointed was pulsing in his heart."(118)

The absence of sufficient material, and perhaps his own development, led Strachey into another temptation in this book, the tendency to overdo the process of reading the minds of the actors in the drama. Interesting it may be to follow the day-dreams of Bacon, to guess what was in the mind of Cecil when Essex was to be sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland, or to trace the thoughts and emotions of Queen Elizabeth, when, after the condemnation of Essex, she decided to let justice take its course;(119) but the fact remains that Strachey often does not tell us when he cannot trace, and can only guess. In his review of Trevelyan's Macaulay in Fraser's Magazine, Froude had written of the implication of motives, "To us it appears a vice the very opposite of rectitude, and in a historian the most fatal of all possible faults. The motive is the fact of facts, the key of the character. To invent a motive, or to assert a motive without evidence, is to pass an arbitrary verdict upon actions which may admit many interpretations; and to decide upon one interpretation in preference to others is to constitute the action either good or evil, and the actor either an honest man or a villain."(120) Of Lytton Strachey's course in Elizabeth and Essex, this perhaps puts the case a little strongly, but there are in it examples when the reader feels convinced that he has left the realm of biography with a historical foundation, and has entered the realm of the novel. Such is the passage, however effectively written, in which he describes Philip of Spain lying on his death-bed in the Escorial; in his last throes, he wonders if perhaps he has been remiss in burning heretics, but recalls with satisfaction the victory of Tyrone, "and

so, in ecstasy and in torment, in absurdity and in greatness, happy, miserable, horrible and holy, King Philip went off, to meet the Trinity."(121)

Along with this, we find for the first time, an explicit psychological element. It appears in the account of Elizabeth's childhood, where he traces to her experiences in that period her neurotic condition, and in the "profound psychological disturbances" of her girlhood he finds the explanation of her emotional shrinking from marriage.(122) We see the influence of the psychologists also in the stress on the masculine and feminine elements with their blending and interaction in Elizabeth and Essex. It is visible, too, in the way in which the Queen realises that Essex has betrayed her at all points, and her character, inheritance, and experience lead her to allow the execution of Essex, which in turn is no sooner over than her nervous system gives way in the reaction from rage and grief.(123)

Those hostile to Lytton Strachey have found still further developed here a tendency in Queen Victoria, a kind of unwilling fascination by matters of sex. Where this is so, apart from other considerations, it is an artistic blemish in the book, but it occupies a smaller proportion, and its general effect is less than some critics would have us believe. In this, as in his reading of the mental processes, and in his psychological theorising, the most serious criticism can be based not upon what he does, but upon the extent to which he allows himself to manipulate his material. The artistic handling of his material to produce a character, drawn with absolute sincerity and truth, is what he can still do, and does, when he is faithful to his own best instincts.

In the last of Lytton Strachey's work to published during his life-time, Portraits in Miniature, there is nothing new either in biographical treatment, or in point of view. In the essay on James Boswell, we once more find him using letters for the character-study and for the outline of his career, while into the essay on Hume the briefest of fragments from his autobiography is woven.(124) In the biography of Madame de Lieven we again see how his power of



selection finds its way through to the human element in her dealings with Palmerston.(125) In that of John Aubrey there is his customary skill in the lightning sketch of the subject's interests, his researches, and his activities, from minute quotations, sometimes a mere phrase.(126) Strachey's mastery of his material can be seen from his summary in two pages of Gibbon's career to the writing of his History.(127) Again, as in his earlier work, we are supplied with the background for the character and the action to be described, one of the best being the background for Carlyle in the narrow nationalism of the Victorian spirit, as contrasted with the "cosmopolitan suavity" of the 18th century,(128).

Situations, too, become tense with drama; one example is in the sketch of Sir John Harington describing, in a shorter form, his reception by Queen Elizabeth on the return from Ireland, a longer version having appeared in Elizabeth and Essex.(129) Once more also, we find Strachey giving a picture vividly alive, but executed with artistic economy, such as that of Hume amidst French society as secretary to the English Ambassador after the completion of his History.(130) Another characteristic piece of writing is his description of the physical mould into which were poured Gibbon's wit, genius, and massive intellect. The sketch of Gibbon is characteristic also in its emphasis on the ludicrous side even of genius, for, of Gibbon's egotism, Strachey writes, "Without that touch of nature he would have run the risk of being too much of a good thing; as it was there was no such danger; he was preposterous and a human being."(131) As in the earlier work, there is the same vividness of characterisation. Dr. North, Mary Berry, and Madame de Lieven are only three of those standing out.(132) In the critical sphere also we find the same kinship with the 18th century; but there is his generous admiration of Macaulay's gift, and of Carlyle as an artist, with his relish for words, his imaginative eye, and his grim satiric humour.(133)

Apart from the interest which Strachey can impart to unusual, sometimes almost forgotten figures from the past, the volume Portraits in Miniature is important for two things. The first is

that he carries to the utmost extreme the process of condensation seen in the other books, and achieves what he had said was the virtue of the French biographic tradition, the compressing "into a few shining pages the manifold existences of men." In Portraits in Miniature itself, he wrote "A biography should either be as long as Boswell's or as short as Aubrey's. The method of enormous and elaborate accretion which produced the Life of Johnson is excellent no doubt; but failing that, let us have no half-measures; let us have the pure essentials - a vivid image, on a page or two without explanations, transitions, commentaries, or padding." (134) If these brief biographies are generally rather longer than the average Life of Aubrey, Strachey at his best gives us just those essentials which he has described. The people are alive because they carry with them no dead weight of historical material. The second point of importance is that Strachey has now clearly accepted as an ally of the biographer the new scientist, the psychologist. In the essay on The Life, Illness, and Death of Dr. North, he says that, as Master of Trinity, "The doctor's sense of responsibility, of duty, and of inadequacy became almost pathological;" (135) and of the enigma of Froude's power he says, "We know more of the facts, and we have our modern psychology to give us confidence." (136) How psychology came to be an influence upon the writers of biography, and how its influence is revealed, we must now discover.

- (1) Lee Princ., 54. (2) Gardiner, 256. (3) Gardiner, 236-7, 103.  
 (4) Gardiner, 332. (5) Strachey E.V., viii-ix. (6) Strachey E.V., 22, 64, 75-8. (7) Strachey E.V., 139-40, 170-1. (8) Strachey E.V., 36-41, 119-20, 203-4. (9) Strachey E.V., 283f. (10) Strachey E.V., 246-8.  
 (11) Strachey E.V., 4, 34. (12) Strachey E.V., 65-73. (13) Strachey E.V., 81-5. (14) Strachey E.V., 201-2. (15) Strachey E.V., 123-6, 180-1, 232-238. (16) Strachey E.V., 8. (17) Strachey E.V., 178-9.  
 (18) Strachey E.V., 182. (19) Strachey E.V., 184, 189-90.  
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- (25) Strachey E.V., 36-49, 126-35. (26) Strachey E.V., 37, 107-8.  
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 (30) Strachey E.V., 14-6, 142, 145, 182-3, 250-2, 280-1. (31) Strachey E.V., 253. (32) Strachey Landmarks, 150-2. (33) Strachey E.V., 89.  
 (34) Strachey E.V., 68. (35) Strachey E.V., 86. (36) Strachey E.V., 112. (37) Strachey E.V., 109, 159. (38) Strachey E.V., 74.  
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 (51) Lunn, 99-102. (52) Pressensé, 6-7. (53) Purcell I, 86, 94-6.  
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 (59) Leslie, xii, 149-56. (60) Leslie, 108-20, 180-8, 192-213, 367-75.  
 (61) Strachey E.V., 108. (62) Encyclopedia III, 596.  
 (63) Strachey C& C., 299. (64) Wingfield-Stratford, Sunset, 61-2.  
 (65) Strachey B.& C., 23-7, 95, 36-42, Strachey C.& C., 290, 45-59, 61-4.  
 (66) Strachey B.& C., 122, Strachey C.& C., 11. (67) Strachey B.& C., 204.  
 (68) Strachey Q.V., 30-4. (69) Monypenny V, 348. (70) Strachey Q.V., 52-57. (71) Strachey Q.V., 70-2. (72) Strachey Q.V., 90, 96f., 118.  
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 (78) Strachey Q.V., 40-2. (79) Strachey Q.V., 57-64. (80) Strachey Q.V., 75-8. (81) Strachey Q.V., 211-5. (82) Strachey Q.V., 75-6.  
 (83) Strachey Q.V., 22. (84) Strachey Q.V., 246. (85) Strachey Q.V. 27. (86) Lee, vii. (87) Strachey Q.V., 197-8. (88) Strachey Q.V., 219-33. (89) Strachey Q.V., 21, 44, 107-13, 197, 254-6, 266.  
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- (101) Strachey Q.V., 33, 165, 208. (102) Strachey Q.V., 203.  
 (103) Martin, 3, 146-57. (104) Strachey Q.V., 46, 251, 259.  
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 (107) Strachey Q.V., 175. (108) Strachey E. & E., 149-50, 63, 127, 272-5.  
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 (111) Strachey E. & E., 201-13. (112) Strachey E. & E., 66-90.  
 (113) Strachey E. & E., 43. (114) Strachey E. & E., 245, 46.  
 (115) Strachey E. & E., 167-9, 173-84, (116) Strachey E. & E., 10-20, 106-8,  
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 (119) Strachey E. & E., 50-2, 188-9, 255-9. (120) Fraser, 684.  
 (121) Strachey E. & E., 172. (122) Strachey E. & E., 20-5. (123) Strachey  
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 (125) Strachey Port., 127-8. (126) Strachey Port., 21-7.  
 (127) Strachey Port., 152-4. (128) Strachey Port., 178-9.  
 (129) Strachey Port., 6-7. Strachey E. & E., 216-7. (130) Strachey  
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 113-5, 121-2. (133) Strachey Port., 176, 181. (134) Strachey Port., 29.  
 (135) Strachey Port., 35. (136) Strachey Port., 192.

## The Approach to Personality.

Autobiography - Gibbon; Herbert Spencer. Rousseau's Confessions; their influence - Stanfield, Wordsworth. Leigh Hunt's Autobiography. Conception of the Unconscious. Study of personality. Gosse's Father and Son. Forrest Reid's Apostate.

So wide is the field of biography itself, that the attempt to combine with its study that of autobiography would create an impossibly large task. Yet, it is in certain influences affecting more directly autobiography that we see first of all those tendencies later to shape biography also.

Objective in treatment as had been 18th century biography, when we come to the autobiography of the period the same approach is perceptible. Issued by Lord Sheffield in 1796, Gibbon's Autobiography was composed by combining autobiographical sketches as Gibbon himself would have arranged them.(1) The autobiography was written to reveal the author of the Decline and Fall, and to supply those facts for which Gibbon was the best authority. Though giving such details as those about his health, his experiences with the Hampshire militia, his share in politics, and his friends,(2) as well as revealing, either by open confession or inadvertently, some feature of his character, it is yet chiefly as the historian of the Roman Empire that Gibbon appears. His early education, especially his reading, his religious development, and his first steps as an historian (3) are set forth, before we come to the famous occasion of his visit to Rome, and later to his choice of his great subject.(4) Thereafter, Gibbon supplies us with his course of reading, the progress of his writing, and its completion at Lausanne. (5) Occasionally as he may give to the record a colouring of emotion, Gibbon makes no effort to analyse his thoughts or feelings, and he treats himself with a detachment he might have applied to someone else.

This type of autobiography has had its representatives from Gibbon to the present day. One of the best examples is to be found in Herbert Spencer's Autobiography published in 1904. Recognizing by 1875 that a biography of him would come, and incapacitated by his health from continued and intensive mental strain, he set about arranging his letters and memoranda, dictated a narrative to a shorthand writer, then inserted the revelant documents.(6) It will thus be seen that the autobiography was handled in the methodical fashion, and with the documentary assistance, usual in biography of the time; indeed, the existence of letters on occasion reminds him of events in his life which his memory cannot recall. The records of his career as a writer, of his various excursions, and of his declining health, are treated in the same objective and unemotional way.(7) As with Gibbon, the reader is enabled to trace the growth in Spencer's mind of certain ideas. He shows how the letters to The Nonconformist led ultimately to the lines of thought which produced Social Statics, The Principles of Psychology, and the System of Synthetic Psychology.(8) Again, he shows how his boyish interest in "cause", once aroused, led him to the idea of development appearing in Social Statics, and how the conception of an advance from homogeneity to heterogeneity unified his ideas till he was ready for a book covering all the sciences.(9) The author himself was the best person to describe the progress of writing his various books, but few could have been sufficiently aloof from their work as to follow his example on several occasions of reviewing it after the fashion of a competent critic.(10) Still more remarkable is the scientific detachment which enables him to trace in himself certain ancestral traits, to assess his moral progress at certain points, to discuss the qualities which might have made him a good engineer, to use his own morphia dreams as a basis of discussion of such dreams, and in the end to analyse what have been the guiding principles of his character.(11)

In the interval between Gibbon and Herbert Spencer, however, there was to appear the influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau, an



influence which not only affected autobiography, but, with psychology, was to leave its mark on modern biography. Read at the time of their composition both in the original and in translation, Rousseau's Confessions were to exercise an influence throughout the first part of the 19th century; in the description of his life at different places, in the use of letters to aid his memory, in the sections devoted to his musical and literary career, as well as in the references to his friendships, intrigues, and enmities, he might be in no way unique, but two features of the work were to have a profound effect on the writers of the following century. The first of these was the emphasis upon the period of childhood, the second the minuteness of his revelation of action, thought, and emotion.

To his early reading with his father, and the way in which he became the person about whom he read, Rousseau attributes his too intimate acquaintance with the passions.(12) To the affection lavished upon him he traces the fact that he was never mischievous or cruel.(13) To his education by Mlle. Lamercier he points for his purity at an age when the passions are usually inflamed.(14) On the other hand, his violent feeling against unjust persecution of the weak is explained by the unwarranted accusation of breaking her combs, and the tyranny of his master he claims taught him "À me cacher, à dissimuler, à mentir, et à dérober, enfin," as well as giving him, from the conviction of his innocence, the violent and impetuous desire for revenge.(14) Though in the later part, there is at times the precaution of putting initials for some of the people with whom he is involved, Rousseau is generally as frank about others as he is about himself. In telling about his unburdening of himself to the Ambassador at Soleure, he notes that "un continuel besoin d'épanchement met à tout moments mon coeur sur mes levres." Scorning what he calls the "fausse naïveté" of Montaigne, who takes care to give himself only amiable faults, Rousseau sets out to write "par une véracité sans exemple, afin qu'au moins une fois on pût voir un homme tel qu'il étoit en dedans." (16)

No action of his life, however mean, does he shrink from recording - from his blaming, at Madame de Vercellis's, the servant Marion for his own theft of the ribbon belonging to Mademoiselle Pontal, to his desertion of his friend M. le Maitre after their escape from Lyons. (17) No amorous intrigue is foolish enough or unworthy enough for him to omit, because of his determination that the reader shall never lose sight of him for an instant, or have occasion to ask what he was doing at this time. Even more important is his comprehensive record of his thoughts, his dreams, and his feelings, for, as he says, "Je puis faire des omissions dans les faits, des transpositions, des erreurs de dates, mais je ne puis me tromper sur ce que j'ai senti ni sur ce que mes sentimens m'ont fait faire; et voilà de quoi principalement il s'agit. L'objet propre de mes confessions est de faire connoître exactement mon intérieur dans toutes les situations de ma vie. C'est l'histoire de mon ame que j'ai promise." (18)

In Stanfield's Essay on Biography is to be found one of the first books which, at the same time applies to this field the conceptions of Rousseau, and acts as a pointer to later psychological thought. Having discussed in his first two sections the difficulties of writing satisfactory biography, and the kind of material to be employed, Stanfield proceeds to the actual composition and the method he thinks most desirable. Believing as he does that man's life is shaped by circumstances from his earliest years, he would stress the importance of parentage, of early circumstances, of birth and infancy, with their effect on the mind, including such things as health, of childhood with the relationships of kinsfolk, companions and scenery, of adolescence, with the effect of education, tutor, and companions, and of any bodily deformity which may then have appeared. (19)

The other feature is his emphasis upon relating conduct and the inner principles of the person, and here we find him claiming the importance of a man as his own biographer. He alone, Stanfield suggests, has it in his power not only "to trace with accuracy and connection the continued progression of his pursuits and actions, but is, also, competent to view with conscious certainty the motives

which produced them, and the ends to which they were directed." (20)

The Prelude is another of the works acting as a milestone on the way, for, not only is there the record of his childhood in objective fact, but even more, since it was to chronicle the growth of the poet's mind, his unique imaginative experiences, highly subjective in character. Even before the age of ten there is his joy in watching the growth of nature, (21) and in addition there is the minute analysis of his feelings when, in his night wanderings, he is, with a sense of fear, made aware of the low breathings of nature, when he hangs suspended over the cliff hearing the whistlings of the wind, and when, having stolen a boat, he rows to the utmost verge of the lake, where only a cliff stands between him and the sky. (22) So, Wordsworth traces his development through his schooldays, to the time when he feels himself a dedicated spirit. (23) Gradually, he is able to show how his London period, his vital experience over the cause of French liberty, his reaction, and his return to the life of nature with his sister, have shaped his mind as a poet. (24)

In prose, the more personal note is to be found in Leigh Hunt's Autobiography. There are in this book three distinct elements. There is, first of all, the private career of the writer, the *raison d'être* of the book. This is described with considerable detail, from the history of his ancestors, through his own childhood, and including even the article in the Examiner which led to his imprisonment, and that of his brother. (25) Secondly, there are the various places seen by the writer, and the impressions he has formed of them. Perhaps the best example of this element is to be found in the chapters dealing with Genoa, Pisa, and Florence during his residence with Byron in Italy. (26) Thirdly, there are the parts describing the various people who crossed Leigh Hunt's path. Some of the actors whom he describes may be now forgotten names, (27) but what Leigh Hunt has to tell of Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, and others is still of interest. Leigh Hunt may, as in the case of Scott, have to repent of an earlier misjudgment, but the chief interest is in the first-hand picture he can supply of his contemporaries. It would



be difficult to improve upon this remark about Charles Lamb, "One could have imagined him cracking a jest in the teeth of a ghost, and then melting into thin air himself, out of a sympathy with the awful." (29) Only an observant contemporary could have written of Coleridge, "His forehead was prodigious - a great piece of placid marble; - and his fine eyes, in which all the activity of his mind seemed to concentrate, moved under it with a sprightly ease, as if it was pastime to them to carry all that thought." (30)

The quality of the book is indeed that of the personal essayist. It is no mere accident that the chapter on his schooldays reminds us so forcibly of Charles Lamb. (31) The less objective quality which autobiography is beginning to assume is, as Leigh Hunt describes it, that of the "fire-side strain," (32) in which the writer regards the reader as a friend.

E.S. Dallas's two books, Poetics 1852, and The Gay Science, mark another stage towards the application of psychology to the understanding of the human, particularly the poet's, mind. Repudiating in his first book the idea that the poet has other and stronger feelings than ourselves, Dallas proceeds to show what is the state of mind producing poetry. In activity and in harmony he finds the sources of pleasure. This leads him to the third law that the pleasure must be unconscious. While an interesting part of the book shows how the didactic, artistic, or satiric, by the intrusion of self-consciousness, disturbs pleasure, (33) and on imagination, so he suggests in another, is based dramatic poetry, on harmony the epic, on unconsciousness the lyric, (34) his central conception of poetry is the thing of greatest importance. He thus declares pleasure to be the harmonious and unconscious activity of the soul, and, since imagination separates poetry from other forms of pleasure, he says, "Poetry will then more fully be defined The imaginative harmonious and unconscious activity of the soul." (35)

From this conception he was later to develop in The Gay Science his view that Imagination, the fundamental quality of poetry, is not a separate faculty, but the automatic working of any of them. (36)

Thus it is possible to associate imagination with memory, or with passion, or with reason.(37) In the two concentric worlds of thought in which we live, the outer<sup>^</sup> Conscious ring, The Hidden Soul, from which comes a current to the inner, illuminated, conscious ring, is regarded as the source of poetry.(38) We are literally such stuff as dreams are made on, and only when we become self-conscious, does pain enter; when he appeals to the absent soul, stirring up hidden memories, thoughts, and feelings does the poet give to us the greatest pleasure.(39)

While this more theoretical approach to personality and the subjects to be investigated by the new psychology was beginning, there was continuing the interest in the formation of personality. It finds, of course, unique expression in the more psychological novelists of the 19th century, but in the poetry of Browning we also see attempts to enter the secret places of other men's minds. It would almost seem that Browning could only fully release his own mind, when he sought to enter that of a Bishop Blougram, a Fra Lippo Lippi, or even a Caliban. There is certainly a clear intention to think and feel along the grooves occupied by the characters he dramatises, and it is significant that in the Ring and the Book, he gives the point of view of everyone save himself. With Pater, too, we have the attempt to think himself into the minds of others. Gaston de Latour, for example, was only possible to one who had imaginatively projected himself into the mind of the young clerk, and who had felt what would be the enlarging effect of the poets of the Pleiad, and of the free spirit of the Renaissance showing in the essays of Montaigne.(40)

Sir Edmund Gosse's Father and Son of 1907 is another milestone marking the progress towards the union of psychology and biography. In the book, Gosse records early memories such as might have been included at almost any period. The recollection of a dog stealing a piece of mutton then disappearing, the anger of his father over the prohibited Christmas pudding made by the servants, the searching for specimens with his father in the beautiful Devonshire rock pools,

and the events leading up to and including his own public admission to the church at the age of ten, perhaps would have found a place in an autobiography of an earlier period.(41) Characteristic of its time, however, are the elements blended with these recollections.

There is the insistence on the point of view of the child at various stages of his life. Here we see the change in outlook caused by the discovery from two incidents that his father was not omniscient. Along with the religious ideas imbibed from his father, are to be found traces of natural magic, appearing at an earlier time in his night terrors and experiment in idolatry, and reviving on his first contact with the sea.(42) The same revelation of the child's mind appears in his description of the dream which used to terrify him after his experience of being kidnapped.(43) Gosse enables the reader to see also how tenacious even the youngest can be of his own personality. Despite the desire to imitate, there is the core of individuality which will not surrender to another. It is evident in his early reaction to the servants' gossip of a missionary career for him. "When they were gone, I beat upon the coverlet with my fists, and I determined that whatever happened, I would not, not, not, go out to preach the Gospel among horrid tropical niggers;"(44) but it appears equally in his final repudiation of his father's Puritan point of view, "Let me speak plainly. After my long experience, after my patience and forbearance, I have surely the right to protest against the untruth (would that I could apply to it any other word!) that evangelical religion, or any religion in a violent form, is a wholesome or valuable or desirable adjunct to human life."(45) The passage which follows these words sums up what has been the theme of the book, the clash between two temperaments.

By the time we reach Forrest Reid's Apostate first published in 1926, autobiography has, like biography, been invaded by psychology. Such external facts as concern his homes, his father's and mother's relations, and his school are indeed included, but all the emphasis is on mental processes, and the hidden inner life. The



books he read and the stories told by his first nurse, Emma, are described for the sake of the imaginative life these created, and the sense of distance which this in turn produced to the rest of his family.(46) The most important thing is his dream world, into which he slips from the world around him. The friends which his family attempt to find for him simply cannot enter it, and it is significant that the friend of his choice, Alan, is the only one to whom he feels tempted to describe it.(47) Again, during his illness, it is the mental reactions which matter.(48) The partial autobiography dwells in its remaining pages chiefly on the world opened to him by philosophy, and the Greek paganism.(49) Even his friendship with the apprentice in the tea trade receives the same subjective handling.(50) The question, therefore, arises—how did they originate, and what were the psychological concepts which thus materially affected the handling of personality in autobiography, but equally in biography?

- (1) Gibbon, v. (2) Gibbon, 29-30, 104-7, 178-9, 164-7. (3) Gibbon, 31-3, 45-8, 68-76, 117-21. (4) Gibbon, 158-9, 177. (5) Gibbon, 173, 184, 205. (6) Spencer II, 284-6. (7) Spencer I, 353, 427, 468, II, 173-7. (8) Spencer I, 207-12. (9) Spencer I, 89, 295, 358-9, II, 5-6, 165-70. (10) Spencer I, 360-4. (11) Spencer I, 38-42, 83, 105, 299-300, II, 174-6, 449-52. (12) Rousseau I, 13-4. (13) Rousseau I, 16-7. (14) Rousseau I, 29-31. (15) Rousseau I, 35-7, 65. (16) Rousseau I, 328, III, 258. (17) Rousseau I, 72-8, 267-8. (18) Rousseau II, 136. (19) Stanfield, 198-251. (20) Stanfield, 2; (21) Wordsworth, 636. (22) Wordsworth, 637-8. (23) Wordsworth, 663. (24) Wordsworth, 689, 711, 727, 744-5. (25) Hunt I, 6-37, II, 117-28. (26) Hunt III, 25-52, 59-68. (27) Hunt I, 226-53. (28) Hunt II, 95-6. (29) Hunt II, 218. (30) Hunt II, 223. (31) Hunt I, 90-136. (32) Hunt I, vii. (33) Dallas Poet., 62-70. (34) Dallas Poet., 81-119. (35) Dallas Poet., 76. (36) Dallas G.S. I, 194. (37) Dallas G.S. I, 208. (38) Dallas G.S. I, 249-52. (39) Dallas G.S. I, 316. (40) Pater, 63-72. (41) Gosse, 20, 94-5, 108-13, 141-9. (42) Gosse, 32-3, 40-5, 83.

- (43) Gosse, 118-9, 103-7. (44) Gosse, 113. (45) Gosse, 246.  
 (46) Reid F., 20-9. (47) Reid F., 106-8. (48) Reid F., 124-6.  
 (49) Reid F., 164-7, 205-12. (50) Reid F., 231-3.

## Chapter XI.

## Recent Psychological Developments.

Work of Freud on Dreams and the Unconscious. Psycho-Analysis.  
 Adler - The Neurotic Constitution, and Individual Psychology.  
 Zürich School of Jung. Application of Psycho-Analysis. Psycho-  
 Analysis and childhood. Psychological study of childhood.

The psychologist with whom began the ideas now so generally known was Sigmund Freud. Imbued, on the philosophic side, with Hartmann's conception of the Unconscious, derived ultimately from Leibniz and Schopenhauer, and working first on hysterics, he reached the conception of the "wish,"(1) and thus strove to penetrate to the lower levels where are formed in childhood complexes influencing adult life. By his work in Psycho-Analysis, he linked the normal and abnormal, and investigated the problem of repressed desires seeking to escape the censor.

The first of his books to affect current thought was The Interpretation of Dreams, published in 1900, and translated into English in 1913. Starting from previous work on dreams, Freud raises points such as the relation of the dream to the waking state, the recollection of a dream, dream stimuli, and psychological peculiarities and ethical feelings in dreams.(2) He also discusses the relation between dreams and mental diseases, showing that, however erroneous might be the previous methods of interpretation, the attempt to interpret at all recognizes the value of dreams as psychic activity.(3) He then proceeds to work from the conception of a dream as an unfulfilled wish. Obvious as its nature may be in children, he shows that even with adults, the experiences just past, infantile experiences, and sometimes sensory stimuli, appear as means of expressing an unfulfilled wish.(4) After examining typical dreams, to prove his point of the character of dreams, he goes on to deal with what he calls The Dream Work. Beginning with the conception that the dream we have is the manifest dream content,



but is a representation of the latent dream content, (5) he describes some of the processes at work in transforming the one into the other. He describes the work of condensation, whereby one element in the manifest content may go back to several ideas in the latent content. (6) Then he sees the work of displacement, whereby psychic intensity is stripped from one element, and attached to another, thereby evading the resistance of the censor. (7) The next problem he deals with is the means of representation in dreams. Logical relations being impossible, he shows how things in succession may be placed together in the dream, and this leads him to the question of symbolism, and the displacing of certain elements by others capable of visual representation. (8) Other problems dealt with are the element of absurdity in dreams, introduced to escape the censor, the appearance of critical activity, really a working over of the manifest dream content known as secondary elaboration, and the way in which the affects make their entrance into a dream though at times attaching themselves to elements different from those in the latent content. (9) He now discusses the function of secondary elaboration, its clarifying influence, and its value as a psychic activity. (10) Such features as our forgetting of dreams, the regression to perceptible images, and the problem of wish-fulfilment causing a dream also find a place in the discussion. (11)

This leads him to his division of the mind into Foreconscious and Unconscious, ideas from the Unconscious acting as the stimulus to those in the Foreconscious, and the two together producing the excitation necessary for dreams. (12) Amongst the other conceptions made familiar by the book is that of the censor standing guard at the entrance to conscious thought, and repressing whatever, for ethical, emotional, or other reasons it regards as undesirable. (13) However opinions may differ about the interpretation of an individual dream, and even if it be felt that things have been made symbolic to a fantastic degree, such concepts as have been touched upon have revolutionised modern thought. Above all, the book began the process whereby it has been increasingly felt that unconscious thought, and

all thought it has been claimed is of that nature fundamentally, is just as important in determining character as that which does emerge into the realm of the conscious.

The next of Freud's contributions to become generally known was his Psychopathology of Everyday Life. The problem of forgetting, for example, names, and the kindred one of false recollection, Freud solves as being caused by repression of an inner contradiction. (14) The repressed thing may have become associated, by a personal complex, with some painful memory, and have shared its unconscious repression. Even with childish memories Freud shows the same processes in action as in the dream work. Forgetting is not due alone to lack of attention, but to the force of a counter-will in the unconscious. (15) So, he shows how erroneously carried-out actions, and apparently accidental happenings reveal some unsuspected intention. (16) He then postulates complete psychic determinism. Certain inadequacies and apparent mistakes are minutely decided by unconscious mental processes which go deep into personality, and experience. Throughout, incorrect function is explained by the interference of two or more correct actions. The psychic material, repressed because of its unpleasantness, is yet not robbed of all capacity to express itself. (17)

In his Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, Freud refers to the shocks received by man's egoism in the course of time, saying that now he is beginning to realise that he does not "know his own mind," and must remain content with the veriest scraps of information about what is going on in it. (18) The purpose of the lectures is to add to man's knowledge of his own mental processes. After putting forward again the explanation of errors just described, Freud goes on to discuss again the question of dreams. Some additional points he contributes to what has already been written by him on the subject. One of the points is the value of free-association for proceeding from the dream to the stimulus idea, and its circle of thoughts and interests of strong affective value, known as a complex. (19) To find this, however, resistance may have to be overcome.

On the subject of dream-symbolism, he shows the link with mythology and folk-lore.(20) Their analogy strengthens his contention that certain things are, in primordial thought, regarded as male or female, and that symbolism is essentially sexual in character.(21)

After discussing again the dream work from the latent thoughts to the finished dream, he emphasises that the dreams of adult life often originate in past wishes; adult life is influenced by family conflicts in the period of childhood.(22) This leads him to the discussion of the well-known terms in psycho-analysis, the Oedipus Complex, whereby the son develops a tenderness for the mother, regarding the father as a rival, similar relations existing for the father and daughter, and the Castration Complex, whereby the father is regarded as the symbol of interfering authority.(23)

The book then proceeds to deal with neuroses. It is shown how psycho-analysis is of value as therapy, for example with obsessional neuroses. Where there is a traumatic neurosis, and a point becomes "fixed" in a patient's development from past experience, the cure is to make conscious the unconscious mental process.(24) Repression he claims to be the explanation of such abnormalities as anxiety hysteria. Another subject discussed by him is the nature of a pervert, such a person having failed to achieve the normal development of Libido, the hunger for satisfaction, or find its normal object.(25) This brings him to the technical terms, "fixation", the failure to develop further, "regression", a movement backwards in development, and "sublimation," the process of transformation of Libido such as occurs in art.(26) It also brings about a discussion of the conflict between Libido and the Ego. This in turn leads to a discussion of the resultant neuroses, from simple nervousness, through "flight into illness," psycho-neuroses, phobias, transference-neuroses, and paranoia. (27) Thus Freud has not only treated in a scientific way the problem of abnormality, but has shown that all thinking is originally unconscious, and has illustrated his contention that impulses, sexual in origin, play their part not only in mental and nervous disorders, but in the highest cultural and artistic



achievements of man.

In Freud's New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis of 1933, once more he starts from the theory of dreams, going over again the process described as "dream-work." The original conception of dreams he develops further by linking it with philology, folk-lore, and mythology on the one hand, and with telepathy and fortune-telling on the other.(28) His next lecture provides a careful statement of his new conception of the Unconscious. In the course of development, he suggests, the parental conscience is transferred to an area of the mind described by him as the "super-ego." In it are to be found social ideologies from the past and present, which combine with the influence of the parents.(29) From the super-ego comes the resistance, even it be of an unconscious kind, which is a feature of psychic life. He now suggests that the mind may be divided into the "id," the "ego," and the "super-ego." The main region for instincts, and impulsive energy, is the id, unconscious, primitive, and irrational.(30) The ego is that part of the id modified by contact with the external world, from which it receives its stimuli. It is the means whereby are expressed the impulses of the id, first, however, squaring them with outer reality, and employing thought. The ego unifies impressions, and has to be reconciled with the world, the super-ego, and the id.(31) The super-ego has its standards unmodified, although it is the heir of certain instincts, hence there sometimes develops a tension between it and the ego.(32) From this conception he passes to the investigation of anxiety, and the instinctual life, touching on phobias, hysteria, and other neuroses. The distinction is made between neurotic anxiety and objective anxiety, though the former may appear as the latter. Objective anxiety he claims to be caused by the relation of the ego to the outside world, neurotic anxiety by the relation between the ego and the id, and moral anxiety by the relation to the super-ego.(33)

With this new conception, he discusses instinct, the part on the aggressive instincts leading him to treat such features as sadism and masochism in the light of psycho-analysis.(34) To the psychology

of women also he applies his view of what is feminine, and tries to explain from development such features as envy, narcissism, and the less fully developed sense of justice and the weaker social instincts.

(35) The book ends with his claim of the importance of psycho-analysis, not only as a therapeutic method, but as an aid to education, to full development through depth psychology. As contrasted with religion, in which he would see only the embodiment in a God-Creator of the parental function, he claims that psycho-analysis has a freeing instead of inhibiting effect. (36) It is a big claim, and one which many of us would not be prepared to accept, but it is certain that by investigating motive and mental process Freud has materially affected the approach to personality, and consequently the work of the biographer.

While no-one can doubt the profound influence on modern thought of Freud and his fellow psycho-analysts, their fundamentally different theories of the features of the mind cause one to accept with reserve any particular explanation. The work of Alfred Adler in his book The Neurotic Constitution illustrates the wide difference of view. Like Freud, his interest is first in the neurotic, but he differs, first in tracing neuroses not to libido, but to some final goal, (37) secondly in the sexual etiology of neurosis, as he feels it to be due to the attempt to become a fully developed man, (38) and thirdly, in his rejection of infantile wishes as a feature of neurosis, for his view is that man desires the maximization of his ego. (39) To Adler, therefore, belongs the now popular idea of the inferiority complex, and the desire of the neurotic to obtain the upper hand of others and of his environment. (40) The neurotic, so Adler claims, starts with organ inferiority, which produces a feeling of inferiority generally. Because of the uncertainty involved, there develops an organisation of the psychic forces to act as compensation and the neurotic lives in a world of fiction. (41)

From this, he passes to the neurotic's attempt to find some fixed point, some guiding line which shall preserve the maximum expression of the ego. By interesting illustrations he shows how the

neurotic may avoid the test of life, to preserve intact his own fiction. Rejecting the sexual as a feature of neurosis, he prefers to trace its development to a will to power, to a "masculine protest," to an "ego-ideal." (42) Character traits he shows develop along the guiding- line. (43) This will decide whether the "masculine protest" will take the form of aggressiveness or exaggerated humility, of rashness or intense caution, to mention some of its manifestations. The masculine ideal may be reached, he suggests, by a circuitous route, or even by a flight from the world, if the goal is set too high. Adler's differences from Freud show also in his different view of dreams, which he thinks follow the fictitious guiding line, and reveal the desire to attain a position "above." (44)

As far as personality is concerned, even more interesting is the practical part of the book. In it Adler shows that the neurotic's desire for absolute power, and a feeling of security, may take the form of envy or avarice. (45) When a masculine control of life is lost, as in aging people, these features may be intensified. (46) When the need for reassurance is very strong, physical symptoms may develop. (47) In dreams, phantasies, and hallucinations also he sees the striving to become a man. (48) Instead of aggressiveness, however, there may be excessive modesty, exaggerated guilt, or a desire to destroy the joy of others in order to obtain power, and consideration. (49) To the same cause Adler would trace cruelty and neurotic jealousy. (50) Even in such points as punctuality, and the fear of a partner, or in self-reproach, contrition, and asceticism he sees the urge to enhance self-esteem, and to obtain a position of preference. (51) Again, as with Freud, whatever agreement one may have with the theory, the investigation of man's complex make-up is of great importance for any study of personality.

In his book The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology, published in 1923, though made up of earlier lectures, Adler gives various applications of his conceptions already discussed. The individual he claims to be a unity, determined by an imagined goal, one chosen from which to advance from the feeling of inferiority in



childhood. The flight from reality by phantasy he discusses, as well as into illness, which gives a margin of security, postpones decisions, and confers a feeling of privilege.(52) In the child, as in the neurotic, he says there is the continuous attempt to overcome the feminine in his composition. To safeguard the superiority of the ego, he shows the neurotic interposing distance by retrogressive conduct such as hysteria, by inability to act, and by the construction of obstacles to action.(53) Nervous insomnia, compulsion neurosis, and even dreams he sees as attempts to evade the standards of the community, and of the whole personality.(54) With the neurotic, he sees a life-plan which attributes to others his own failures, and with the melancholic he finds a fiction to free him from the demands of others.(55) An interesting section for its bearing on biography is the discussion of the effect of physical defect in a child, and the temperamental features which this may produce.(56)

The Zürich school of psycho-analysis was represented by Dr. Jung, who, like Adler, agreed on some points with Freud, and on some disagreed. Like Freud, he uses psycho-analysis as a therapeutic method, and to enable him to reach the contending forces producing a conflict, not consciously recognized as such by the subject.(57) Like Freud, he acknowledges the element of repression which protects the person from unpleasant emotions.(58) His conception of sexuality, however, is wider, for he takes it to include all tender feelings; Freud's term of "libido," the hunger for human sympathy, seen specially in the Oedipus complex, he would widen to a conception more than sexual.(59) To Jung it is life-energy, and appears equally in the child's phantasy-making, and in the interest shown by either child or adult.(60) Like Freud, he sees in phantasies the influence of the parents, but it is the parent-imago, rather than the real parent.(61) The conflict between child and parent Jung sees not in the infantile past, but in the present, and it may produce the self-sacrifice motive, regression, or sublimation, according to how it develops.(62) In addition to the points already made, Jung's Psychology of the Unconscious is important for the work on the unconscious through

Miss Miller's hypnagogic poems, *The Hymn of Creation*, *The Moth to the Sun*, and *Chiwantopel*.(63) He uses these to put into practice the method of free-association, and interprets them as Freud would dreams. In the course of his discussion such interesting points arise as the connection between erotic tension, and a mystic religion, including Christianity,(64) and the part played by libido in human discovery, including speech itself.(65)

Jung's most distinctive contribution is, however, the way in which he links the individual unconscious with the racial unconscious, to show how the fully conscious draws from the unconscious, and it is in turn amplified by the heritage of the race.(66) With a tremendous sweep, Jung draws from literature and religion - Goethe's *Faust*, the Book of Job, and Revelation, as well as other parts of the Bible, Vedic literature, the Koran, the story of Mithra, Polynesian, Samian, and Babylonian stories. He thus investigates the recurrent symbolism of such objects as the sun, fire, water, the snake, the tree, the cross, the dragon, and the city,(67) and such mythological themes as the origin of the hero, rebirth, deliverance from the mother, and the sacrifice.(68) We are here in a strange world, yet writers like Jung believe that it was the source from which man's mind developed to maturity, and that in the unconscious mind so developing, are the tendencies and underlying motives which determine all of man's relations of life.

Jung's Psychological Types, written in 1920, and translated in 1923, has as its basis a division of personality according to typical mechanisms, called by him introversion and extraversion. With the introverted standpoint the self and the psychological process is set above the object and the objective process, while with the extraverted standpoint the object receives predominant value.(69) These mechanisms, he suggests, both occur, and tend to compensate for the one-sidedness of life. They are the systole and diastole of the mind, but when one is commoner in a person, a type is produced which affects the mind's basic functions of thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition.(70)

The opposition between the two attitudes is traced by Jung from earliest times, in Tertullian versus Origen, and in the views of Plato and of Aristotle.(71) Later he contrasts Schiller the introverted thinking type with Goethe, the extraverted intuitive type.(72) Jordan's character types he also examines in the light of his theory, and in Goethe's Faust, Wagner's Parsifal, and in certain religions he sees the attempt to create a reconciling symbol, which will unite these opposites.(73)

After showing how the type problem appears in psychiatry, in aesthetics, in modern philosophy, and in biography, with the distinction between the classic and romantic types,(74) he goes on to describe the types. They are, he claims, determined by the direction of the libido, and the function types. With the extravert the interest is in the object; with the introvert we see the interest in the subject. He then goes on to describe the characteristics of the extravert, if he be of the thinking, feeling, sensation, or intuitive type;(75) and follows it up with a similar treatment for the introvert.(76) In the course of it much interesting material appears about human reactions. By his recognition that the types seldom occur pure, but that there is, in conjunction with the most differentiated function, another of secondary importance, and auxiliary function,(77) he draws attention to the complexity of man's character.

Another contribution to the study of personality is to be found in Dr. Constance Long's The Psychology of Phantasy, in which she develops and applies the conceptions of the psycho-analysts. In her chapter Mental Conflicts in Children, she traces to unconscious mental conflict in the child later troubles of development. Even on going to school, the child has already woven round himself, others, and the outside world, phantasies which tests, such as the word-association one, reveal to be highly charged with emotion.(78) The importance of unconscious resistance in the child is also stressed, and the need for the educationist to recognize if he is of the extraverted or introverted type, to seek to develop the type, as well as the less valuable function in each.(79) In dealing with the



unconscious mind, in the child, she works upon Jung's distinction between the racial possession and the personal unconscious, made up of things entering, but not retained by consciousness, traces of things forgotten, or for other reasons not rising to consciousness.(80) Here, too, she accepts the distinction between directed thinking and dream or phantasy thinking, a refreshment of the mind and a means of interpreting the universe.(81) Adler's conceptions, on the other hand, are employed by her when discussing the importance of fear and a sense of inferiority in childhood.(82) The importance of the unconscious in discipline is stressed, and the need to create harmony in which the child can advance to control over himself.(83) Other subjects which receive some treatment are the use of subliminal material in analytical psychology, the natural symbolism of man in mythology, dream, and phantasy, irrespective of Freud's postulate of the intervening censor, and the importance of the unconscious in character-formation, and psychological adaptation.(84)

By his study of Leonardo da Vinci, Freud provides an extreme instance of how psycho-analysis colours, in this generation, the conception of personality. The book, he declares, is not an attempt to blacken the character of the great, but to show the continuity between the normal and the morbid, and to employ the method of psycho-analysis to unravelling the problem of Leonardo's personality.(85) Freud begins by pointing out certain peculiarities of Leonardo, such as the extreme chastity of his work, his companionship with beautiful boy pupils, and the emotional quality of his devotion to art and to scientific investigation.(86) These qualities he seeks to explain by starting from a dream of Leonardo's childhood, when a vulture opened his mouth with his tail, and flapped against his lips with it. Instead of a dream, Freud declares this to be a phantasy, whereby his mother, who was both father and mother to him, was represented as a vulture.(87) Proceeding after the fashion of dream-interpretation, Freud traces the development of Leonardo's repressed love for his mother, to love of himself (narcissism), then its transference to others of his own sex. It is thus that he explains

the women and children of Leonardo's painting.(88) In the course of the study, Freud attributes certain entries in the diary to a compulsion neurosis, and sees in Leonardo's development the features of repression, fixation, and sublimation.(89) While those unconverted to psycho-analysis may doubt the validity of his conclusions, one must admit with him that for Leonardo the material was fragmentary, and that it is of great value to work from data, to investigate dynamically the character of the individual, and to lay bare the earliest psychic forces, as well as later transpositions and developments.(90)

Along with this changed attitude to personality, the work of psycho-analysis, by tracing back to childhood so much of adult character, has brought about the study of childhood so important today. Melanie Klein has as one of her books The Psycho-Analysis of Childhood, and in it she starts from the new child psychology. It denies the asexuality of childhood, and the belief in the "Paradise of Childhood."(91) It points to the anxiety, obsessional neurosis, obsessional ceremonial, melancholic depression, inhibition in play, and excessive plaintiveness, along with obvious feelings of guilt and fear, to deny the previous ideas of childhood.(92) To remove these and lead to full development, the method of psycho-analysis is employed. Because of the weak connection with reality, and the difficulty over speech, interpretation as with adults is impossible, but the phantasies expressed in play can be used to reach the level at which the conflict is taking place.(93) The removal of the deep anxiety, she maintains, will improve the child's relations with parents and adults, as well as removing the terrors and phobias which produce obsessional acts. Even with normal children, she says, play-phantasies can be used to cope with anxiety and lay a good foundation for future life.(94) After an account of her actual experimental work, the writer deals with the way in which the child's development from the earliest stage determines his response to the Oedipus conflict, and generally shapes the formation of his ego and super-ego.(95) Only by successfully overcoming his early anxiety

will the person become fully adult, and in the mastery of circumstances phantasy plays a vital part.

More characteristic perhaps of the work generally done on childhood in the last twenty-five years is Karl Bühler's The Mental Development of the Child. There he shows how the child, in the first three years, acts out the development of the race from primitive times, through instinct, and training, to the emergence of intellect.(96) Starting with the qualities inherited from the parents, as Bühler shows, the child develops according to certain structural and dynamic laws. By means of diary records, achievement-experiments, release-experiments, and expression-experiments, with the whole apparatus of scientific investigation, he follows in the child the growth of language, the development of his perceptions, memory and imagination, his powers of drawing, and his first judgments.(97)

At Malting House School for young children, Cambridge, Mrs. Isaacs kept certain records from October 1924 to Christmas 1927, and from these she wrote her book Intellectual Growth in Young Children. In 1933 she followed it with Social Development in Young Children. These two books are characteristic of the work being done in this psychological field, for the records, made by people with psychological training, and based on the study of individual children, attempt to give qualitative results. For the first of the books Mrs. Isaacs used records written in note-books by the staff at odd moments, and in the year 1927-28 by employing secretaries she was able to secure records verbatim and almost complete.(98) The children were admittedly of superior intelligence and with certain social advantages. (99) These conditions probably made it easier to stimulate the children's activity, and to fulfil the purpose of the school - to develop the child's bodily and social skills, and means of expression, to open the facts of the outside world, yet leave plenty of scope for the phantasy life.(100) From the free activity of the children Mrs. Isaacs was able to study certain aspects of intellectual growth. For Discovery, Reasoning, and Thought she was able to see how the children applied knowledge already possessed to new situations and



problems, by a formal and theoretical application, an imaginative construction, a dramatisation of knowledge or some other means.(101) She saw, too, how by experiment, observation, and discovery, the children sought to increase their knowledge.(102) By the social interchange of knowledge in questions, reasoning, and discussions, she perceived another way of the child's mental growth increasing.(103) Unlike Piaget, the conditions under which she studied childish thinking did not produce in the earlier stages autistic thinking, then ego-centric, before social; nor did her conditions give rise to monologuism, as did his.(104) After her theoretical section, she proceeds to print the records of discovery, reasoning, and thought, under the different divisions of cognition.(105) Their biological interests also receive attention, and illustration.(106) The children's activities, such as physical exercise, music, and song, are described too, after the record of four sample weeks, in which are indicated the children involved, and their ages.(107)

Her book Social Development in Young Children she divides into the records with their psychological implications, and their educational application. Once more there is the attempt to analyse the reactions of the children, and to observe them after the manner of the scientist. Her first division is of the social relations, called by her Love and Hate in Action.(108) After Primary Egocentric Attitudes, she examines hostility and aggression; it may be individual hostility, arising from the motive of possession, the motive of power, the motive of rivalry, or from feelings of inferiority, superiority, or general anxiety;(109) with group hostility, it may appear to strangers and newcomers, to adults generally, or to younger children, or to any temporary scapegoat.(110) The third type of social relation she examines is of friendliness and cooperation.(111) In her study of the deeper sources of love and hate, Mrs. Isaacs shows clearly the basis of psycho-analysis on which she works, for one large section deals with various aspects of sexuality in children, including exhibitionism and family play.(112) A second section handles examples of guilt and shame.(113) Not only does this type of

book provide a scientific study of childhood, but in the course of investigation brings to light unsuspected features of character and development materially affecting adult life.

Still another aspect of childhood - phantasy and imagination - receives scientific handling in Ruth Griffiths' A Study of Imagination in Early Childhood. Because of amnesia, the adult is apt to misunderstand the child, and in her book is to be found an attempt to return to the point of view of the child. It recognizes that more proportionately of the child's thinking is unconscious, that the span of attention is less, and that day-dream is a vital part of the child's life.(114) Her study is based on records of thirty London children, and twenty Brisbane children, the children being selected to form a superior group, an average, and an under-average.(115) The children were observed over a period of time, and all that each child said and did during the period was taken down. To each child were given free drawing, reactions to imagery test, describing a dream, telling a story, and a description of ink-blot, three each day.(116)

After her samples of the children's reactions, Miss Griffiths then proceeds to draw theoretical conclusions. In the phantasy life of the child she notes a feature stressed by Freud, the ambivalence of the child's emotion.(117) She notes that the child's thinking stands half-way between conscious, logical thinking, and unconscious, autistic thinking, unadapted to reality.(118) This leads her to discuss fully phantasy, and its function in childish development. Its chief function she feels to be the unconscious solution of childish problems of development.(119) Other subjects which call for discussion are the development to be traced in children's drawings, the different types of imagery, - static, dynamic, and creative, - which appear in their imagination, the nature of children's dreams, the problems which the child because of his helplessness has to face, and the value of play for tackling difficulties on a small scale.(120) If the child is father of the man, such investigations are of great value to the biographer.

So important does every aspect of childhood now appear, that

Charlotte Bühler has undertaken investigations, carried out by observers in seventeen families, on parent-child and sibling relations. The results of the observations she prints in The Child and His Family. All the activities of the child are analysed, and norms taken for various children in the group. Not only does she record the number of contacts with each child and the parents, (121) but she classifies the responses as negative, zero, or positive, or even evasive, and groups them according to whether their motive is social, pedagogical, organizational, charitable, or economic. (122) From these records and statistics, she attempts to show how far the parents determine the reaction of the children and how far the siblings affect each other. (123)

In The Study of Society by F.C. Bartlett and others, Dr. Mary Collins draws attention in her article, Modern Trends in Child Psychology, to the variety of methods by which a child can now be studied. The biographical method, though based on memory and having a subjective interpretation as well as uncontrolled stimuli, is often confirmed in its conclusions by other, more scientific methods. (124) These others include systematic observations with notes made at the time, development schedules especially useful for young children, control groups particularly for progress in learning, photography, clinical records, and play which is valuable for diagnosis of character and temperament. (125) The work surveyed begins earlier, but most of it comes from 1920 to the early 1930's, and the aspects of childhood particularly studied include the development of language and of emotion. (126)

Though appearing too recently to have affected modern thought, and consequently the approach to childhood in biography, Fowler D. Brooks' Child Psychology shows how thoroughly is now being investigated every aspect of childhood. In showing why the information about the child has been so poor, he points out the superficial and uncontrolled nature of the observations; the thing to be studied was not isolated, a few observations were thought enough, and the results were not recorded at once, but retained in memory, and



afterwards distorted by personal bias.(127) The result of these factors he sees in the anecdotal biography. In Child Psychology, scientific methods are applied to such widely different subjects as the development of physical and motor capacities, emotional behaviour, children's character and children's religion, and personality traits.(128) In the Editor's Introduction we find stated reasons for the great amount of work being done in Child Psychology: "First, it deals with the period of mental life that is scientifically interesting and significant in its own right; second, it provides an indispensable body of fact which alone makes possible the real understanding of many adult psychological characteristics that otherwise seem to be outside the deterministic bounds of science." (129) These reasons are fully recognized in the stress laid on childhood in modern literature, and particularly in biography.

- (1) British Journal, 3-4, Freud Dreams, 102. (2) Freud Dreams, 4-5, 7, 16-8, 39-46, 54-61. (3) Freud Dreams, 73-8. (4) Freud Dreams, 103-5. (5) Freud Dreams, 200. (6) Freud Dreams, 61-2. (7) Freud Dreams, 283-288. (8) Freud Dreams, 289-96, 313-5. (9) Freud Dreams, 334, 350, 354-5, 364-6. (10) Freud Dreams, 389-95. (11) Freud Dreams, 405f., 422f., 435f. (12) Freud Dreams, 436-41. (13) Freud Dreams, 480-3. (14) Freud Psycho., 52-3. (15) Freud Psycho., 163-70. (16) Freud Psycho., 178f., 215f. (17) Freud Psycho., 336-8. (18) Freud I.L., 241. (19) Freud I.L., 90. (20) Freud I.L., 133-8. (21) Freud I.L., 140-1. (22) Freud I.L., 170-4. (23) Freud I.L., 175. (24) Freud I.L., 217, 219-20, 231-7. (25) Freud I.L., 334, 284. (26) Freud I.L., 286-7, 314-5. (27) Freud I.L., 316-27. (28) Freud N.I.L., 37-8, 51-3, 56, 61. (29) Freud N.I.L., 84-7. (30) Freud N.I.L., 100. (31) Freud N.I.L., 101-3. (32) Freud N.I.L., 104. (33) Freud N.I.L., 107-12, 116. (34) Freud N.I.L., 135-7. (35) Freud N.I.L., 147, 169-73. (36) Freud N.I.L., 202-33. (37) Adler N.C., xx. (38) Adler N.C., 15. (39) Adler N.C., 34. (40) Adler N.C., 24-6. (41) Adler N.C., 27-34. (42) Adler N.C., 35-42. (43) Adler N.C., 86. (44) Adler N.C., 84-5. (45) Adler N.C., 108-9. (46) Adler N.C., 132-53. (47) Adler N.C., 154-6.

- (48) Adler N.C., 265-71. (49) Adler N.C., 274-8. (50) Adler N.C., 324.  
 (51) Adler N.C., 361, 383-5, 412-4. (52) Adler I.P., 2-8. (53) Adler I.P., 51-8. (54) Adler I.P., 59-77, 100-8. (55) Adler I.P., 163-5, 208-9, 214-23. (56) Adler I.P., 234-6, 248-50. (57) Adler I.P., 18-22. (58) Jung UNc., vii-ix. (59) Jung Unc., xiv. (60) Jung Unc., xxii-xxvi. (61) Jung Unc., xxvii-xxviii. (62) Jung Unc., xxxi-xxxvi. (63) Jung Unc., 49-126, 191f. (64) Jung Unc., 80-5. (65) Jung Unc., 178. (66) Jung Unc., 36-41. (67) Jung Unc., 108, 163-9, 244, 413, 246, 296, 402, 234. (68) Jung Unc., 191f., 251f., 307f., 434f. (69) Jung Types, 1. (70) Jung Types, 10-4. (71) Jung Types, 15-30, 38-56. (72) Jung Types, 89f. (73) Jung Types, 184-91, 232-4, 239-42. (74) Jung Types, 337f., 358f., 372f., 401-11. (75) Jung Types, 428-71. (76) Jung Types, 471-513. (77) Jung Types, 513-7. (78) Long, 2-3. (79) Long, 52, 55-7. (80) Long, 78-9, 20. (81) Long, 23, 176. (82) Long, 40-8. (83) Long, 68-74. (84) Long, 77f., 109f., 127f., 195f., (85) Freud Leon., 1. (86) Freud Leon., 14-25. (87) Freud Leon., 34-5, 48-50. (88) Freud Leon., 66-9, 92-4. (89) Freud Leon., 75. (90) Freud Leon., 116-28. (91) Klein, 23. (92) Klein, 23-8. (93) Klein, 28-9. (94) Klein, 31, 33, 34-9. (95) Klein, 179f., 267. (96) Bühler K., 1-19. (97) Bühler K., 30-2, 52-9, 63-84, 85-105, 106-24, 126-41. (98) Isaacs Intell., 1. (99) Isaacs Intell., 14. (100) Isaacs Intell., 17-23. (101) Isaacs Intell., 50, 111-24. (102) Isaacs Intell., 51, 125-44. (103) Isaacs Intell., 51, 145-54. (104) Isaacs Intell., 78-88. (105) Isaacs Intell., 110-57. (106) Isaacs Intell., 158-213. (107) Isaacs Intell., 214-90. (108) Isaacs Soc., 30-4, 213-8. (109) Isaacs Soc., 35-73, 218-47. (110) Isaacs Soc., 73-92, 247-65. (111) Isaacs Soc., 93-112, 266-79. (112) Isaacs Soc., 135-40, 335-9, 155-63, 350-4. (113) Isaacs Soc., 172-87, 366-75. (114) Griffiths, 9-12. (115) Griffiths, 18-20. (116) Griffiths, 23-7. (117) Griffiths, 128-9. (118) Griffiths, 148-52. (119) Griffiths, 168-75. (120) Griffiths, 188-206, 228-30, 253-5, 269-72, 319-23. (121) Buhler C., 47. (122) Buhler C., 36-44, 50-1. (123) Buhler C., 108-11, (124) Bartlett, 71. (125) Bartlett, 71-85. 170-7.

(126) Bartlett, 86-108. (127) Brooks, 3-4. (128) Brooks, 139-72, 276-295, 393-421, 422-50. (129) Brooks, vii.



## Psychological Thought in Modern Literature.

Diffusion of psychological concepts. Literature of childhood.  
Psychology in poetry. D.H. Lawrence and Psycho-Analysis.  
Psychology and the modern novel.

The degree to which new developments of psychology have affected all approach to personality appears in almost any type of modern literature. Three widely different examples will serve as illustration. In Gunther's Inside Europe, we find a chapter entitled, "Psycho-Pathology of Dictators." Elsewhere, the author draws attention to the psychological shock which Goering received at the destruction of his planes by infinite inferiors, and explains as a kind of compensation his passionate energy devoted to the building up of a new German air fleet.(1) Dr. Goebbels' club foot imposed upon the cripple, he claims, the necessity to make his way by cleverness and conspiracy.(2) Even Hitler's psychological composition he explains from the unusual relationship with his mother.(3)

In a book where personality is a secondary consideration, such as Esmé Wingfield-Stratford's The Victorian Aftermath, the author shows a general acquaintance with psychological terminology, and both people and nations are described as neurotic. A familiarity with the work of the psychologist appears, for example, in his remark about the 20th century, "It is necessary to enlist the emotions of the mob on behalf of any scheme of policy, and though this can usually be done by the use of mass-suggestion, such emotions are not deconditioned so easily as those of M. Pavlov's much advertised dogs."(4)

That psychological thought has contributed also to literary criticism can be seen in a book like The Road to Xanadu, by J.L. Lowes. Its influence is perceptible in the actual vocabulary, such as his reference to a Freudian complex, and his remark, "The ante-chamber of consciousness was rapidly becoming peopled with strange

shapes."(5) It appears too in the procedure - the start from Coleridge's note-book, known as the Gutch Memorandum Book, and the working from that, through the various reading of the poet, Bartram, Burnet, Dampier, and the hundreds more, to find the sources of the Ancient Mariner and Kubla Khan.(6) Even the method of following out a particular image suggests the influence of the psycho-analysts, while it is doubtful if such chapters as The Sleeping Images and The Vision in a Dream would have been possible without their aid.(7) The purpose of the book is not only to examine, as they have never been examined before, the two poems of Coleridge, but it is "A Study in the Ways of the Imagination."

In the other literature of our period some psychological influence is traceable, an influence delayed in reaction and becoming increasingly evident from the 1920's after the work of foreign psychologists became known through translation to a wider world than that of the specialist. It takes three main forms - there is first of all the greater stress upon childhood; secondly, there is the addition of a vocabulary of new technical words; and there are the conceptions of personality which originate in the work of the psycho-analysts and other modern psychologists.

Maurice Baring's The Puppet-Show of Memory is typical of a whole new literature centring in childhood. In the book we have a charming account of the various people entering his life at that period - the members of his family, the household servants, and his numerous relations. He gives us, too, a picture of his childish entertainments, of the world of books, music, and drama in which he lived, of the French plays performed by the family, and his passion for poetry,(8). Even more important, however, is the attempt in an adult to go back to the child's viewpoint. Of this sort is his inconsolable weeping over the loss of a green ticket with a hole, which he imagined would provide such delicacies as Bath buns, Banbury cakes, and jam rolls.(9) Again, there is his humiliation when out of politeness he agrees with Mlle. Ida that "which" is "wich".(10) There is, as a final example, his confession of his inability at Eton to do

arithmetic, but his pride over winning the Prince Consort's prize in French; "such as it was, it gave me as much joy and triumph as my being could hold, and nothing in my after-life could ever touch the rapture of the moment when I knew I had got it."(11)

The volumes such as Georgian Poetry, covering the period from 1911 to 1922, and J.C. Squire's Selections from Modern Poets reveal the continued existence of the traditional subjects of poetry. The beauty of the natural world, the eternal, quiet things, old age, flowers, and the passage of unbroken days are still an inspiration. Childhood, love, the everyday pattern of human life, and the fervour of religious experience still find a place in poetry. Even those poems arising out of the Great War are not the most distinctively modern. Apart from the break with past poetic forms, the greatest change is due to physiological and psychological studies. I.O. Williams' At a Music Hall refers to a ballad-singer's song, and the applause it received,

For some folk's time has been so ill-employed

They've hardly glanced at either Jung or Freud.(12)

The same acquaintance with at least the names appears when Siegfried Sassoon writes, in Storm on Fifth Avenue, "These sultry storms afflict me with neurosis."(13) T.S. Eliot also in Coriolan writes in the Triumphal March,

The natural wakeful life of our Ego is a perceiving.

We can wait with our stools and our sausages.(14)

The second of T.S. Eliot's lines illustrates another way in which psychology has affected modern poetry. In his notes to Waste Land Eliot admits that the whole world is peculiar and private to each soul,(15) but in spite of it, he, and other modern poets, feel that the existence of an image in their own minds is sufficient justification for its inclusion in their poetry. So important has the image become, that it is its own justification, and the poet does not feel the need to translate it into more universal form for the sake of other minds.

Poems which have as their subject the flow of image, emotion,



and memory at a time when the mind is relaxed include Robert Nichols' Night Rhapsody, and Edward Shanks' Memory.(16) The fascination for childhood of names appears in W.J. Turner's Romance.(17) The inconsequence of the mind during moments of great danger is the subject of W.W. Gibson's The Gorse, when in counting those pursuing him the man can reach no further than five, and there comes unbidden the childish rhyme, "One, two, three, four, five. Can you catch a fish alive?"(18) Experience as so many disconnected impressions appears as the subject of Nichols' The Assault.(19) The blending of human resolution and irresolution appears in Martin Armstrong's Miss Thompson goes shopping.(20) In D.H. Lawrence's Man and Bat, the sense of horror is caught by the repetition of "Out, go Out!", "Out, out of my room!", "Out, go, out!"(21) In each of these instances can be traced either the interest aroused in unexpected features of the human mind, or the additional knowledge of it supplied by modern psychology.

So great is the interest aroused by psychology that we find it becoming the subject of two books by a writer the rest of whose work is purely creative. D.H. Lawrence in Psycho-Analysis and the Unconscious starts from a knowledge of Freud's view of the unconscious, but he himself is more concerned with the nature of the pristine unconscious in man. Characteristically, Lawrence traces the unconscious not to the mind, but to the individual life beginning in the organism.(22) To him the infant is something new and underived, a new soul. From his conception, he would derive the birth of consciousness from the solar plexus.(23) Both in mother and child are the dual motions, the polarity fundamental to the unconscious, to draw everything into itself, and to separate itself as an individual.(24) To the thoracic plexus he would give a similar polarity, and would mark as the division between subjective and objective the diaphragm.(25) Only when education releases the shackles of mind over the human psyche will man become a free soul.(26) It will be noted that in this first book not only does Lawrence develop his own theory of the unconscious from the

Freudian basis, but in his valuation of the instinctual and unconscious, above the intellectual and conscious he follows the example of the psycho-analysts.

That we must go back to the Tree of Life is the starting point of his second book on this subject, Fantasia of the Unconscious. While stressing, like Freud, the union of male and female, Lawrence does not trace to it all creative activity. Instead, he speaks of the emergence of a new element, the individual, who should be true to his Holy Ghost.(27) In this way Lawrence links up the book with his creative work. Another theme discussed in it is the continuation of his idea of man's development from the primal level of a pre-mental state.(28) His contention is that there are two planes of consciousness, the spiritual and the sensual, and that most people concentrate on the one or the other.(29) Amongst the views which his conception involves is the protest against injecting ideas into the minds of people when there is no dynamic experience to correspond to them.(30) Another is his belief that man and woman should realise themselves at the deeper unconscious levels, and then each would be free to live a fuller, more creative life, and to battle for his individual human soul.(31) Still another implication is the protest against the over-stimulation of spiritual love between parent and child, whereby the child is robbed of spontaneous consciousness on the other plane.(32)

With this last there comes the theoretical formulation of what had been implicit ten years earlier in Lawrence's Sons and Lovers. There we have, as Middleton Murry would suggest, a study of the conditions which produced Lawrence himself. Mrs. Morel, passion having worn bare, finds part of her nature starved in marriage. To satisfy her craving she draws to herself the devotion of her sons. From her cry which brings him back from the brink of death, during his illness with pneumonia, Paul's mother satisfies his deepest needs.(33) Miriam Leivers may stimulate his mind, Clara Dawes his body, but neither is enough. The real Paul dies in the long drawn out agony of his mother's illness from cancer.(34) Thus in the

novel also we find embodied the conception of human relationships and of personality popularised by the recent psychologists.

Some writers, indeed, would claim that in the novel most of all psychological influence is to be traced. Professor C.E.M. Joad in Guide to Modern Thought, speaking of the invasion of literature by psychology, draws attention to the value placed upon experience. So complex are experience and personality, that the novelist must endeavour to put everything in. Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage, and James Joyce's Ulysses provide examples of this tendency. The stress laid by the novelists on the inner life and thought is due also to this influence. So, too, is the conception that life is not continuous, but a series of psychological moments, and indeed that the amalgam of these creates what has hitherto been called personality.(35)

The work of two novelists will here be taken as representative of psychological influence in the novel. As early as 1911 with The Divine Fire, May Sinclair had touched on subjects treated later by psychology - that in Rickman there were really several different people, that in Savage Keith Rickman it is possible to trace different thought processes, and that he represents the poetic genius of which she attempts to give a study.(36) In Mary Olivier, the section dealing with Mary's early childhood, by a series of sense impressions without coordination due to understanding, again suggests the psychological bent of the author.(37) The method of impressionism is used also for the events when the brother Mark is going with the Artillery to India.(38) The book contains also studies in her emotional states at different periods of her life.(39)

Nevertheless, the difference made by modern psychology is evident by comparing these with The Life and Death of Harriett Freen. In telling the story there is the recognition of the fact that in a person's life only certain incidents stand out as significant. To the person these are important, though, as in the case of Harriett's disobedience in going into Black's Lane, they may be trivial enough.(40) Another feature is the emphasis on childhood



as conditioning the future person, and as important in itself.(41) Another characteristic part is her endeavour to create a personality, but, since her ideal is imposed from without, being only that of beautiful conduct, she fails in every crisis of her life.(42) The treatment of events shows a knowledge of the mind made available by psychology; in Priscilla the development of a defence-mechanism, and in her husband that of compensation reveal this knowledge.(43) Even what Harriett says when under an anaesthetic shows a familiarity with the distortion brought about by what Freud called the "dream-work".(44)

More characteristic still of the effect of psychology on the novel is the work of Virginia Woolf. In Jacob's Room we find her showing how the mind does not deal with one series of thoughts singly. Mrs. Betty Flanders, receiving a proposal of marriage from Mr. Floyd, not only thinks ~~with him~~ <sup>(that)</sup> her boys are being properly taught, and respects him as a scholar, but is capable at the same time of thinking about a parcel of cheese, the fish-cakes for next day, the probable visit of Captain Barfoot, and the vision of her dead husband.(45) The complexity of human response to a given situation is illustrated also from Jacob Flanders' reaction to Athens.(46) In Mrs. Dalloway, too, we see how present and past can merge in the mind. It is not what happens to the people that matters, or even what kind of people they are, but what goes on in their minds. This is true of all of them, including Peter Walsh and Elizabeth Dalloway.(47) The study of insanity in Septimus Warren Smith is also made possible only by psychology, which recognizes his desire to be reasonable, yet his obsession by ideas and people.(48) In To the Lighthouse, the reader is given the complexity of the human mind, and the ebb and flow of thoughts; the most vivid insight into character is seen to be given by little things.(49) In The Waves the time covered is considerable, from Bernard, Neville, Jinny, and the others playing in the garden before lessons to Rhoda's death, and Bernard's appearing as "a rather heavy, elderly man, grey at the temples," looking back over their lives.(50) The happenings, however, do not seem to matter; nor is there dialogue in the ordinary sense. Instead, we have long monologues,

shifting from one character to another, representing the flow of sensation, memory, emotion, and judgment. In this book character, as the Victorian novelist understood it, has ceased to exist, and the person has become the series of his thoughts and emotions.

The unusual way in which personality is regarded by the psychologically minded novelist appears also in Orlando. The book claims to be a biography, but is really a novel in which the author traces the adventures through which the core of personality known as Orlando passes in the course of the centuries. Beginning as a poetic, romantic youth, with "eyes like drenched violets,"(51) at the court of Queen Elizabeth, Orlando maintains a life, through the reign of James I, through the Age of Pope, rather oddly regarded as also that of Dryden,(52) now, however, having become a woman, right up to the Victorian era.(53) In the accepted sense Orlando is not really a person, but a collection of the elements of a personality - with the outlook of man and woman blended, and with various layers of time and thought present at once.

That her practice was in accord with her theory of the novel appears from Virginia Woolf's The Common Reader. She there protests against the portrayal of life as plot, comedy, tragedy and love interest. "Is life like this? Must novels be like this? Look within and life, it seems, is very far from being 'like this.' Examine for a moment an ordinary mind on an ordinary day. The mind receives a myriad impressions - trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel. From all sides they come, an incessant shower of innumerable atoms; and as they fall, as they shape themselves into the life of Monday or Tuesday, the accent falls differently from of old;.....if a writer were a free man and not a slave, if he could write what he chose, not what he must, if he could base his work upon his own feeling and not upon convention, there would be no plot, no comedy, no love interest, or catastrophe in the accepted style."(54)

Since these psychological conceptions have so radically affected other literary development, we must expect that they will combine with other shaping influences to produce elements in biography which

differentiate it from that which has gone before. The gradual preparation of the minds of this generation for the ideas of recent psychologists has now been traced. Psychology has become so clearly one of the strands in the web of modern thought that we can now apply to it what Wordsworth wrote in the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, "The remotest discoveries of the Chemist, the Botanist, or Mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the Poet's Art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of these respective sciences shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings." (55) Since the subject of biography is precisely "enjoying and suffering beings," the way in which psychology has influenced biography is a central consideration today. Such developments as come from features in Lytton Strachey's work, the influence of psychology alone, and the blending of these two influences, give to modern biography its most outstanding characteristics.

- (1) Gunther, 79-80. (2) Gunther, 83. (3) Gunther, 32. (4) Wingfield-Stratford Aftermath, 100. (5) Lowes, 17, 15. (6) Lowes, 6, 8, 16, 49.
- (7) Lowes, 356-413. (8) Baring, 10, 12, 18, 21f., 47. (9) Baring, 6.
- (10) Baring, 22. (11) Baring, 116. (12) Squire, 666. (13) Squire, 570.
- (14) Eliot, 135. (15) Eliot, 84. (16) Georgian, 1920-1922, 129-31, 173-5.
- (17) Georgian 1916-1917, 3-4. (18) Georgian 1913-1915, 119-20.
- (19) Georgian 1916-1917, 58-61. (20) Georgian 1920-1922, 15-22.
- (21) Squire, 402-8. (22) Lawrence Psycho., 48-50. (23) Lawrence Psycho., 57.
- (24) Lawrence Psycho., 67-73. (25) Lawrence Psycho., 75-84.
- (26) Lawrence Psycho., 121-7. (27) Lawrence Fantasia, 25.
- (28) Lawrence Fantasia, 26-35. (29) Lawrence Fantasia, 58-9.
- (30) Lawrence Fantasia, 77-9. (31) Lawrence Fantasia, 165-76.
- (32) Lawrence Fantasia, 110-6. (33) Lawrence Sons, 141-2.
- (34) Lawrence Sons, 370-402. (35) Joad, 236-8, 239-42.
- (36) Sinclair D.F., 41-2, 76-7, 136-7. (37) Sinclair M.O., 1-8.
- (38) Sinclair M.O., 112-20. (39) Sinclair M.O., 96-9, 188-91.



- (40) Sinclair H.F., 16-23. (41) Sinclair H.F., 14-16. (42) Sinclair H.F., 50-63, 93-6. (43) Sinclair H.F., 69-75, 124-35. (44) Sinclair H.F., 182-4. (45) Woolf Jacob, 28-31. (46) Woolf Jacob, 241-7. (47) Woolf Dall., 121, 205-9. (48) Woolf Dall., 130-48. (49) Woolf Light., 88-99. (50) Woolf Wav., 7-16, 260f. (51) Woolf Orl., 17. (52) Woolf Orl., 180-3. (53) Woolf Orl., 214. (54) Woolf Com., 189. (55) Wordsworth, 939.

## Chapter XIII.

## The Influence of Strachey on Modern Biography.

Work of Maurois and Ludwig. Guedalla - scholarship and artistry in biography; other examples. Work of Bryant. Comparison with older biographies. The "de-bunking" biographies. The Portrait. Biographical experiments. Continuation of traditional biography.

Wide as is the field of English biography, to understand recent currents in it we must consider two European biographers, whose influence has extended to this country. The work of Maurois and Ludwig was affected by that of Strachey, who strengthened their natural bent, and in turn, by means of translation, their influence has reinforced his.

The first of Maurois's biographies, Ariel in 1924, continued the claim set forth by Strachey that biography is an independent art, not seeking its justification in the importance of the subject. Certain recognized features it retains, the use, for example, of documentary material; letters, the Journal of Mary Shelley, and Trelawny's Recollections are amongst other material employed.(1) As is the custom with earlier biography, on occasion Maurois sets his subject against the background of his time. The Eton of Dr. Keate, harmless enough he suggests for the average English schoolboy, is used to introduce the sensitive, exceptional Shelley and his sufferings there. The Ireland of his day is described to show the extent of his disillusionment, when he made his tour in the cause of Catholic Emancipation.(2)

Even where the material is usual, however, the manner is new, for Shelley's holidays from school are so described - "In the holidays the refractory slave became the hereditary prince,"(3) and of the Irish visit Maurois writes, "Thus did the Young Knight Errant of the luminous eyes take ship to conquer the Green Island. In place of a lance he carried a manuscript, the Beauteous Harriet was his lady and the Black Eliza his squire.(4) These extracts alone

indicate the appropriateness of the book's sub-title, "A Shelley Romance." The tendency appears still further in the selection and handling of the material. The emphasis is on such sections as Shelley's friendship with the schoolmistress Miss Hitchener, his intimacy with Byron, and the meeting with Emilia Viviani, his feeling for her, and its expression in his poetry.(5) It is remarkable that this is one of the few sections in which Maurois stresses Shelley's being a poet, for this part of his life is mainly slurred over. Not only is this treatment applied to Shelley, but to others also; as Maurois puts it, "Now to tell what became of the other actors in this story."(6) Ariel and Don Juan appear as frequently as the names Shelley and Byron; and the general handling is that of the novel. Chapter headings such as "Graves in the Garden of Love," and "Ariel Set Free," carry the suggestion further. It also involves a certain amount of dramatisation, and the feelings and arguments of Shelley over the news of Harriet's suicide are treated as in a novel.(7) There is a certain charm in the picture of Shelley's going off with little William Godwin, and his friend Newton, to let off fireworks, and genuine feeling over the death in Italy of his little son, "Willmouse," as he called him.(8) The method is one which may fall, however, into the colloquial, as in the comment on Mary Wollstonecraft's Journal entry on the day of her marriage, "Mary had good nerves. Poor drowned Harriet was never a patch on her,"(9) or into the sentimental, as in the picture of Shelley, abandoned by Hogg in the Poland Street lodgings, "a wistful bright-eyed fox in the midst of the green and purple bunches of grapes."(10)

A more substantial biography than its predecessor was Disraeli, published three years later. Because of the closer resemblance of subject, this book shows more obviously the influence of Lytton Strachey. The piquant comment by which Strachey emphasises a point appears after a comparison of Gladstone and Disraeli, one of Strachey's common methods incidentally of analysing character, "Disraeli was sure that Gladstone was no saint, but Gladstone was far from certain that Disraeli was not the Devil."(11) "The Faery,"



Strachey's usual name for the Queen on Disraeli's lips Maurois also employs.(12) Even Strachey's tendency to refer to a person by what he believes to be a happy phrase, and to make ironic use of repetition, can be seen in the passage about Gladstone, "'My mission is to pacify Ireland,' said the woodman of Hawarden, leaning on his mighty axe.... But Ireland was less pacified than ever."(13)

Two things make this biography a more serious contribution than its predecessor. The first is that Maurois has to provide more frequently a historical setting for his central figure, a necessity involving the assimilation of a considerable amount of material. The atmosphere of Parliament when Disraeli came to make his maiden speech, the social evils of his day as a background to his desire to reform the Poor Law, and Russo-Turkish relations of 1875 leading to his part in events culminating in the Congress of Berlin are three such sections.(14) The second feature is that the biography is much more fully documented than its predecessor. The bibliography includes lives of the greatest Victorians, letters and literature of the age, as well as previous biographies of Disraeli, including the work of Monypenny and Buckle.(15) These of course supply Maurois with a great store of letters, extracts from Disraeli's diary and from his speeches, as well as Disraeli's published work, and authenticated anecdotes.

Unlike Monypenny and Buckle's biography, where Disraeli's career begins with the second of the six volumes, one third of the biography is over before Maurois begins the parliamentary career. Having done so, he employs all his devices to make it dramatic and personal. The combined narrative and drama of the High Wycombe election, and the chapter, The Oak and the Reed, when Peel and Disraeli join issue over the question of Free Trade, are characteristic.(16) Perhaps it is at its best in the able summary of events leading to the Russo-Turkish crisis and the swift narrative to the Congress of Berlin; there, the people all become real, thinking and speaking, with here a touch of colour, there an anecdote, and over it the dominating figure of Disraeli.(17)

Once more, however, the human is emphasised along with the public. Those parts of Disraeli's life of a private character are expanded - his early visit to Lockhart over the new project of Murray, his female friendships particularly with the lovely Sheridan sisters, and Lady Blessington, above all his married life.(18) One of the most attractive sections lets us see him, surrounded with external honours, but at sixty-one dreaming in Hughenden Church and walking home through the park with his wife,(19). The attempt at vividness may lead to the scene in which, inspired by the close of Queen Victoria, Disraeli is depicted as seeing in memory his wife and his friends of the past, then, with tears in his eyes, whispering, "Dreams.. Dreams," a scene unfortunately quite unfounded.(20) The method nevertheless does reveal, behind his political greatness and personal flamboyance, the hidden loneliness and timidity of his spirit, and make us understand Maurois's comment, "Mary Anne might have a thousand faults in the eyes of others; she was the very wife who had been lacking to this proud and sensitive man. She made him live in a paradise of slightly comical adoration, but its security was soothing after long and painful vexations."(21) We are given on the one side the air of romance with which Disraeli surrounded his Queen, but we have come to the common human factor when Maurois tells of Disraeli's visit to Balmoral. "Seeing him so weak, she grew maternal. Their relations became entirely human. She talked to him of Albert; he told her of Mary Anne."(22)

It will be necessary again to refer to Maurois's Byron, but at this point there must be noted the same qualities as appear in the two other biographies hitherto discussed. Where Maurois deals with the Shelley intimacy, he shows the temporary influence of an enthusiasm for Wordsworth's poetry in a passing pantheism.(23) Mainly, however, Byron's poetry is introduced for purely personal reasons. His tour of Greece is illustrated by verses from Childe Harold; the devastating verses to Lady Caroline Lamb, beginning, "Remember thee!" appear inset in the narrative; while in 1814, on the birth of his child, Medora, there is printed the lyric to Augusta Leigh,

I speak not, I trace not, I breathe not thy name.(24)

Maurois begins with Byron's childhood days, with his mother's violence, "When a passion seized her she would chase him through the whole house; and the tragic and comic were strangely blended in the spectacle of this squat gnome pursuing that lovely limping angel," then, continuing through his Cambridge period in the chapter, *The Trinity Musketeers*, goes on to show Byron in his reaction to human beings.(25) The typical clash and interplay of character appears again in "The Two A's" where we see Byron's wife Annabella trying to reform Augusta,(26) as well as in the section where the arrival of the Hunts arouses the antagonism of Madame Guiccioli.(27) It continues up to those last tragic days at Missolonghi, and there is the irony of a novel in Lady Caroline Lamb's being an unexpected witness of his funeral on its way to Nottingham.(28)

Written in 1924, and translated into English in 1927, Emil Ludwig's Napoleon is another book marking the tendency to "humanize" biography, to use a word common today. In the *Envoy* Ludwig sets down, as many writers do in the Preface, the principles on which the book has been written. After recognizing the special quality of Plutarch, and his lack of successors, he says, "In this book, I have tried to write the inner history of Napoleon.....Every difference of opinion with his brothers or his wife, every hour of gloom or elation, his outbursts of wrath, or his accesses of pallor, tricks or acts of kindness towards friend or foe, every word to his generals or to women (as reported in letters or authentic conversations,) seemed more important than the order of battle at Marengo, the terms of the peace at Lunéville, or the details of the Continental System."(29)

In addition to such documents as Lucien's picturesque interview with his brother at Mantua, and comments made by Napoleon to his intimates, especially at St.Helena,(30) Ludwig had the vast store of Napoleon's letters, now available from which to draw. From this, perhaps the largest addition was in those letters to his wife. This fact is entirely characteristic of the handling of the book, where the emphasis is on Napoleon intime, rather than on a complete figure



in both public and private life. The two largest elements are those dealing with Napoleon and his family, and his intrigues with the various women who crossed his meteoric path. Three of the most characteristic sections are of his mother Letizia in a tent, suckling her child, a picture quite unhistorical, while her husband embroils himself in the Corsican struggle, of the progress of his passion to the marriage with Josephine de Beauharnais, and the considerable part devoted to Countess Walewska.(31) One of the significant points made by Ludwig is that the strength of Napoleon's affection for his son caused him to order a post-mortem, so that his son might be saved if possible from the family disease of cancer, although Napoleon well knew that it would destroy his carefully constructed case that his death was caused by conditions on the island.(32)

What he inherited of characteristics from father and mother is pointed out in its place, and in the Egyptian campaign Ludwig sees the influence of his Corsican childhood, his early reading, the imaginative sway of Alexander the Great, and the blending of the calculating and imaginative elements in his own nature.(33) It is significant that the part of Napoleon's public career handled most fully is the Russian campaign, because it is richer in human interest, in incident, and dialogue, besides giving opportunity for portraits, scenes and Napoleon's soliloquies. Characteristic is the following, "In the middle walks a little man, wearing a Polish fur coat and a cap of red-fox, and helping himself along with a birchen staff. Thus in silence he wends his way through Russia. What is Paris saying? He does not know."(34) By the recurring question, Ludwig links Napoleon with what is happening elsewhere. Frequently Ludwig puts us in the position of "standing in front of the iron door which guards a glowing human heart, and looking through the keyhole into the fiery furnace of a soul,"(35) but even Ludwig has to admit that on occasion we can only guess Napoleon's thoughts. To quote once more the Envoy, "Such a portrayal, which brings us into close proximity with its object, may give the impression of being a work of pure fancy. If, by its method of treatment, it is to be sharply

differentiated from an imaginative creation, it must throughout cling to the framework of historical truth... In this book, all the data are recorded facts, except the soliloquies." (36) That "except," however, is a most important proviso, for it blurs the line between authentic biography and fiction; in this book a considerable proportion of soliloquy appears, and, while we cannot prove a distortion in portraiture, unverifiable thoughts and words are a shifting foundation for any biographical structure.

In Kaiser Wilhelm II, published in 1926, are to be found three features, recurring in many of the biographies of this century. The first is the kind of material deliberately selected by the author. At his command were twenty volumes of German Memoirs, along with German Foreign Office papers. In consequence, from time to time letters and similar material are incorporated, including extracts from William II's letters and Queen Victoria's. Actually, he draws most extensively not from these, nor from the abundance of extant anecdotes, but from the Kaiser's own deeds and words and those of the people who knew him best. Excluding the evidence of his professed enemies, he has built up a portrait from the twelve who were the Kaiser's intimates, and supported it by that of hundreds of others, though theirs has not yet received the stamp of history. (37) The reason is of course that the purpose is to draw a portrait such as was familiar to the Kaiser's generation, hence the choice of the material most characteristic.

In the handling of his material, the first noteworthy point is the deliberate attempt to create a work of art. While he regrets some of William's characteristics, mainly it is with the detachment of a novelist sketching one of his creations that he writes. Indeed, to the novel this book has in numbers of ways an affinity. The author confesses to having modulated the conversations, reported indirectly, into dialogue. (38) In 1890, when the Emperor at a Crown Council meeting speaks in defence of the working-man and sets forth his attitude to Social Democracy, the speech, his thoughts, Bismarck's reply, and his thoughts, become interwoven just as in a novel. (39)

Like a scene from a novel, too, is the episode in the Bay of Björko, when an alliance with Russia is formed, and Ludwig gives to the sequel a novelist's touch of irony.(40) Most characteristic of all is the section which closes the book. The events from Oct.29th to the crossing the frontier into Holland have been described, with inset conversations, the whole being suffused with pity both for the Emperor and for Germany; he continues, "The engine throbs - the car drives on into the alien land from which there will be no home-coming. Fainter, ever fainter.....Soon the Emperor can scarcely hear the groaning of his land."(41)

The second element in the handling is the influence exerted by modern psychological thought. It appears in the emphasis on William's childhood. The physical handicap of his paralysed arm was ignored, and failing to cultivate his real strength, he forced himself into the Prussian militarist mould. His father's harshness, and his mother's coldness working on this foundation are shown to be decisive personally, and to both his country and England.(42) Of various characters, but particularly of the Emperor, Ludwig speaks in recognized psychological terms. The whole development of the Prince and Emperor is seen in the light supplied by modern psychology. By 1908, Ludwig has to face the problem of William's nervous condition, and to decide upon his normality. By quotations, he shows that only in the early years was this in doubt, and that the worst that was feared was nervous prostration. As Ludwig writes, "while it may please the psychiatrist to write him down as a case of neurosis, the psychologist will be particularly careful to avoid this "flight into illness.""(43) The war years he has condensed because they are only the psychological epilogue to the Emperor's life. When, on the outbreak of war in 1914, William II, as supreme War-Lord, found himself able to dispense with the Constitution and the Houses, this is what Ludwig says, "Now the Emperor would have none of it. With our recognition of this, the last link in the chain is forged - the chain which from his childhood, from his princely youth, to the days of November



and the days of July, it has been the aim of this book to link up with the infirmity which was the source of every action of his life. In the stern hour which called for energy - and all his intimates had foretold it - the mainspring of his nervous temperament snapped, and he stopped dead."(44)

Also published in 1926, Bismarck reveals no new features in the work of Ludwig, but a combination of those stressed in the two earlier biographies. With some of the variety of material of Napoleon, this book has printed extracts from Bismarck's memoirs, from his letters, letters of others about him, as well as speeches, dialogues, and anecdotes. A Chronological Table of the chief personal and public events is given at the beginning, then dates are used sparingly in the rest of the biography, for it is only partly as a public figure that Bismarck is treated. The typical modern method Ludwig describes in the Foreword, "Instead of following the academic method, and burdening the portrayal with notes, we think it proper in our day to make public characters plastic, as an example and a warning to everyone. The man and the politician are inseparable; feelings and actions determine one another mutually; private life and public life run concurrently. The task of the artist is to construct a whole out of the data furnished by the investigator."(45) For this reason, along with the picture of Bismarck as a public figure, towards the end of his life, as the counterpart of his sudden rise to popular favour, there is the moving description of him in his loneliness after his wife's death, with the forest as his only real love.(46) Every effort is made to create of Bismarck a creature of flesh and blood, as contrasted with the legend of the Iron Chancellor. To this end, Ludwig reveals Bismarck at his evening parties amongst his guests such as Rudolf von Bennigsen, Eduard Lasker, and Eugen Richter.(47) It is, as before, Bismarck's character which matters most. The book is, to quote the sub-title, "The Story of a Fighter," whose development can be traced, and in it again and again, Ludwig stresses the reader's nearness to Bismarck's innermost soul. In the handling of the subject he analyses at different points

the elements of Bismarck's character, and especially in a moment of high drama shows how the characteristics of his nature war against one another to condition his final action. Lastly, in the biography there is brought out the development of his character. Because it is the formative period, his childhood and youth are dealt with vividly and fully.(48) Gradually we see developing his political creed and loyalty, his religious standpoint, his sympathies, and his antipathies; his adult life is linked with his youth by his emotional nature, and only with his death is there the rounding off of his whole personality.

In his treatment of the third of the great German figures of the earlier part of the century, Hindenburg, Ludwig, up to a point, follows the method adopted earlier. He begins with a picture of the grandparents' home at Neudeck, sketches the social background, and imagines the stories told to the little boy by his two grandparents. To this he adds Prussian culture, the ideas inculcated in Hindenburg's own home, and his training at the Cadet Corps and Military Academy.(49) Thus he traces the progress of the boy to maturity. Typical also of his usual handling is his recasting of the material of the conference on submarine warfare on Jan.8th and 9th, 1917. Though at the time they were strictly private, he makes Bartenwerffer act as a kind of reporter, recording speeches by Admiral Holtzendorff, Ludendorff, and Field-Marshal Hindenburg, speeches revealing the characters of the conversationalists, both as personalities and as symbols.(50)

Two things, however, prevent this book from following in the line of pure biography. The first is that Hindenburg is not only himself, but a representative Junker; indeed Ludwig says that his character is that of a type, and hardly belongs to an individual man at all. When, therefore, Ludwig is writing about him, he cannot be content with portrayal, but has to condemn in the man what belonged to the class - those qualities which led to the sufferings of the bourgeoisie and of the common German soldier, and, as he believes, which brought about the defeat of Germany in the Great War. With a kind of angry pity he records how the working-class and the intelligentsia took over

the heavy burden resulting from the failure of the military and Junker class, "It was touching. It was stupid."(51) The second thing is that the full title of the book is Hindenburg and the Saga of the German Revolution. In consequence, the study has to include from military and state papers sections which are not intimately connected with Hindenburg himself, and at one point in the book the centre of gravity has to shift, with almost painful relevance, from the aging President to his most recent successor, Hitler, appearing as the rising star of Germany.(52)

In the work of Philip Guedalla are to be seen the biographical tendencies noted in that of Lytton Strachey, supported as his influence is by Maurois and Ludwig. In many of the biographies of last century the biographers who possessed most material received it direct from the subject or his friends, or the biography was done with little in the way of research. For his brief biographies in Eminent Victorians, however, Lytton Strachey read many hundreds of pages of material, while there was a considerable amount of scholarship hidden beneath the easy grace of Queen Victoria. With Guedalla's Palmerston of 1926, and his biography of Wellington, The Duke, of 1931 we have applied to biography the exacting standard of modern research. For the first of these Guedalla had access to family material at Broadlands, to unpublished letters in the Bowood Papers, to papers of the Earl of Clarendon, to departmental papers in the Public Record Office, to the collection of Palmerston's public and private papers in the British Museum, and other contemporary sources.(53) With the second book, Guedalla had to make his way through even more material, for he had to hand thirty-four volumes of correspondence (about 20,000 pages), much unpublished material at Apsley House, and a list is given of twenty-one sources from which he has received documents, this in addition to studying on the spot, as far as possible, the Duke's career.(54) For those who wish to make documentary study of the subject Guedalla has grouped his authorities at the end of the book, and has numbered the section references in the margin to avoid interference with the text. An indication of its thoroughness is



that under the chapter, Sepoy General, Sub-Section V has a hundred and ten references to Supplementary Despatches, works on the army and on India, as well as letters and much other material, while 1815 has ninety-nine references - Despatches and books on the army, but also references to Creevey, the Life of Scott, and Palmerston.(55) Sometimes a simple statement of fact conceals the amount of research it has involved. On, for example, Palmerston's conduct over the affair of the Trent, we can see that Guedalla had to sift a considerable amount of evidence to come to the conclusion that Palmerston genuinely did not want war.(56) The supplementary volume to it, Gladstone and Palmerston, shows the care with which Guedalla had to follow, and demolish, the accepted legend.(57)

Were it only for this, however, Guedalla's work as a biographer would be much more limited than it is in appeal. In his Introduction to Palmerston Guedalla points to the unusual combination in his work of scholarship and the living quality of literature. Writing of Palmerston's vivacity, he says, "I have always felt that there is a Muse, no less than a method of history; and using (though, I hope, concealing) the full apparatus of research and documents, I have done my best to paint his portrait, to catch something of the movement of his world, and to bring back the dead without sacrifice either of accuracy or of vividness. For I conceive that both should be pursued with equal ardour by any historian who is not prepared to leave half his work undone."(58) In the Introduction to the Palmerston Papers, published in Gladstone and Palmerston, Guedalla sets forth even more fully what has been the aim, and is the achievement, of the best modern biography dealing with an historical subject, "The duties of biography, however infrequently performed, are easily defined. They are, if I am not mistaken, to produce a living record of men who were themselves once living..... As it is to be a record, it must conform to the highest standards of accuracy, a test that may be applied with cruel consequences to the sprightlier products of our time no less than to the epitaph. For accuracy connotes research, a rigorous exploration of all printed or unprinted

sources of information....But bare accuracy, though it provides an indispensable foundation is not enough. No one could mistake the Annual Register for history, or the official file that contains a soldier's *état des services* for his military biography. For accuracy itself requires that biography should attain a high degree of animation. .... If the record fails to live it is untrue to its original. He, after all, was once alive; and his biographer's first duty is to make him alive again."(59)

In the pursuit of such a desirable end, Guedalla recognizes the importance of brevity in modern biography; the consequence is "A higher standard of craftsmanship prevails at once, since brevity connotes selection and arrangement. For biography has ceased to be a purely manual process, in which the contents of thirteen deed-boxes are somehow split into three volumes, and it becomes (as it need never have ceased to be) an ingenious blend of scholarship and literary skill."(60) Here we have at length the point of view of biography as a work of art, set forth by Strachey in his Preface to Eminent Victorians. Let us see how Guedalla proceeds in his selection, then examine the other ways by which he contrives this "ingenious blend."

In the volume, Gladstone and Palmerston, Guedalla gives to the world from letters at Hawarden and Broadlands papers of great interest, which the scope of one volume had compelled him to exclude from Palmerston, or to reduce there. They let us see that a fairly large number of the letters dealt with financial affairs, though they include others on such varied subjects as the Crimean situation, relations with France, along with the necessity for the defence of the country, and social problems. They let us see that Guedalla has excluded entirely, in Palmerston, many long letters, and has selected from others. Another characteristic example of his power of selection and compression is to be found in The Duke in his treatment of the difficulties of Wellington as Prime Minister; from his letters, Guedalla draws in a single paragraph the multifarious problems which met Wellington, before handling more fully that of

Catholic Emancipation.(61)

Since his are biographies of men who were great public figures, Guedalla has to include the panorama of national and even international events, without, however, allowing their inclusion to obscure the fact that he is writing not history but biography. One of his methods of overcoming the difficulty he learned from Strachey, the contemporaneous one. In The Duke he tells of what Napoleon was doing, when, for three weeks, in 1805, as Sir Arthur Wellesley, he visited St.Helena, before departing in July for Europe; "the island waited."(62) The earlier biography, however, has more frequent use of the method which, one must confess, occasionally becomes a trifle mechanical. Palmerston's period with Professor Dugald Stewart in Edinburgh coincides with "Mr. Scott's " volunteer activity and pursuit of ballads, as well as with the boyhood of "a fierce, bare-footed urchin" at Ecclefechan.(63) A characteristic example occurs in the year 1857. "While Colin Campbell moved towards Lucknow and ears were strained to catch the first faint rise and fall of the marching pipes, Lord Palmerston sat <sup>on</sup> sedately at Cambridge House. He was writing to the Office of Works about the iniquity of iron hurdles in the Park. They were unsightly, kept people off the grass, confined them to gravel paths, reduced their pleasure, and were, in fine, an intolerable nuisance. Somewhere across the world a dusty remnant heard the pipes at Lucknow. But Palmerston was still denouncing hurdles with undiminished calm."(64)

A second method is that of giving to the history a personal colouring, of letting the reader see it through the eyes of the subject of the biography. In The Duke, Guedalla does not discuss in detail the Battle of Copenhagen, but deals with it only as it affects Wellington, preferring to include the mention of Wellington's charger Copenhagen.(65) So, too, in 1808 he shows the elements in Wellington's origins, his home, his life, and his century, which made him antagonistic to the French, and glad to fight them in Spain.(66)

A third method, also to be found in Lytton Strachey, is the



rapid summary, and interweaving of events, with the utmost possible emphasis on whatever supplies a human touch, or can be used to bring out the drama of history and of personality. In Palmerston, for instance, from 1838 there is stressed the human side, with a mosaic of social events, Palmerston's particular work at the Foreign Office, European happenings, the entry of Prince Albert, Palmerston's own marriage, and finally in 1840 the marriage of the Queen.(67)

So, too, in The Duke, the chapter, "1815", divided into Winter, Spring, Summer (1 Brussels 2 Waterloo 3 Paris), Autumn, forms an artistic unity from the escape of Napoleon to his banishment to St. Helena.(68) Such military details as are given have documentary foundation, but in the main he prefers to give results, and emphasise more the duel of character, and the dramatic and human elements. By such means as these, Guedalla contrives to balance history and biography.

Another of his problems, however, is to keep the balance between the public and private elements in his subject's life. One of the sections where this is well done is where he sketches the life of the day at the time when his subject was growing up. From his wide reading he was able to let us see 18th century England as it would appear to the young Palmerston, men and manners then, the kind of people his parents were, and even the type of home to which he came.(69) At the height of his fame, also, when, with Waterloo behind him, Wellington returned at last on leave to London, we see him in the midst of the social round; nor does Guedalla omit from his admiring description of the Duke unravelling single-handed the tangled skein of European affairs, the reverse side of his indulging in Paris in cheerful horse-play.(70)

By giving to public events a human quality and something of the prime mover's private character, Guedalla serves to unite the different aspects of his subject's life. In the crisis of 1831 he writes thus of Palmerston's activity, "Protocols multiplied hopefully and Eighteen Articles became Twenty-four under the fruitful hand of diplomacy. But the angry Dutch flung into Belgium; the Belgians broke; and, surrounded by a defeated army, the cautious Leopold enjoyed the

precarious delights of monarchy in a cottage outside Louvain. The French rushed to the rescue and their kindly task completed, discovered a singular reluctance to evacuate the rescued kingdom.... Even Lord Grey wrote of 'a flame which would make war inevitable.' But the French fell back behind the frontier; and as the summer of 1831 turned to autumn, the healing flow of protocols was resumed." (71)

All of these methods, however, would be useless, did Guedalla not contrive to give life to the central figure. A good start is made by making the subject of the biography a very human boy. Palmerston is shown as rather quiet at home, under the exuberance of his father, but found chasing his friends at Harrow with bolsters, an action which, says Guedalla, "provoked a harassed housemaster to call them, with the gloomy levity of his profession, 'young men of wit and pleasure.'" (72) As he develops, we follow his progress with interest, aroused by reading that at Berne a double tooth has lost its "stoping." (73) The same is done with young Wesley, whose removal from Eton is described as due to Richard's political career, then, "...the ant-like pace at which Wesley made scaled Parnassus scarcely rewarded outlay. So early in 1784, his brief rearguard action with the classics ended." (74) The same handling applies to the period when his mother, rather ashamed of him, takes him to Brussels, "Few boys, whatever their moral excellence, are seen to the best advantage at fifteen: an excess of limb scarcely lends charm to an unaccustomed gruffness. Small wonder, then, that Lady Mornington vowed to God that she did not know what she should do with her awkward son, Arthur." (75) Having so begun, Guedalla continues to give animation to the character by the inclusion, wherever possible, of small personal details such as Palmerston's dislike of faint ink and bad hand-writing, (76) as well as by stressing, when he can, not only the great debt owed by posterity to Palmerston, Wellington, and, in the Commentary of Gladstone and Palmerston, to Gladstone, but the great vitality of the character. Of Disraeli's comment over Palmerston's defeat, "There was a Palmerston," Guedalla writes, "There was indeed. For in three weeks he had divided the House against a Militia Bill, defeated the Government, and had his unforgettable tit-for-tat with John Russell. Lady

Palmerston wrote almost apologetically that, he 'did not intend to put out the Government.' But Samson, it may be conjectured, had a shrewd notion of his Parliamentary strength." (77) Wherever the appeal to the reader's imagination can be made to picture the subject as a creature of flesh and blood, he does so. We are told how the Duke, now become civilian "white-trousered and blue-coated emerged at six o'clock, tramped up and down his battlements, enjoyed the morning sun, and reappeared at breakfast. A morning with his papers, a ride to Dover in the afternoon, another turn upon the flagstones, dinner, a quiet evening (unless Stanhope was in the house), and a bowed figure with a silver head lit the flat candlesticks and wished them all good-night." (78)

This quotation reveals what Guedalla claims in the Introduction from which his theory of biography has already been drawn, that "A pot of paste, some scissors, and a few mild regrets are an inadequate equipment for the biographer; he also needs a pen." (79) Though more obviously, and therefore the less artistically, in two ways Guedalla makes his pen follow the lines traced out by Strachey, in his irony, although his greater tolerance makes him more of a humourist, and in the exploiting of opportunities for vivid and artistic prose. The political situation may arouse his irony, or the ineptitude of the government, or the oddities of human nature, as in Miss Jenkins's attempts to convert Wellington. (80) He can even draw its ironic quality from a figure of speech, as when he describes the Duke's attitude to the Tories over the question of Catholic Emancipation; Guedalla compares them to troops embarked for one purpose and used for another. (81) In his choice of artistic and modulated prose, Guedalla, like Strachey, reserves his best for the old age and death of his subject. In Palmerston, we have described movingly his lying waiting for his birthday, "It was a quiet room, where his poor weary Emily sat waiting also; until it fell silent on the morning of October 18, 1865, and the last candle of the Eighteenth Century was out." (82) In The Duke the closing chapter, Apotheosis, gives a sympathetic blending of admiration, humour,



pathos, and humanity, then come his death and funeral, punctuated, as with a refrain, by the roll-call of his titles, till the passage culminates in the final sentence, "The long lanes went by, wound slowly through the Park and past the blind windows of his empty house, down the long hill towards the City, until the trumpets died away." (83)

Because of the choice of subject, it is interesting to see how far J.E. Neale's Queen Elizabeth of 1934 resembles Strachey's Elizabeth and Essex. It is indeed in the tradition established by Strachey and developed by Guedalla. Written for the fourth centenary of Queen Elizabeth's birth, the author has removed the apparatus criticus, but he claims that the solutions of the many problems presented have been reached by considered judgments on the authorities. The varied material of letters about Elizabeth, to her from the politicians of her day, and from her, both of a domestic and a diplomatic kind, conversations, descriptions of her progresses, and a variety of speeches, provides a more solid foundation of fact than is to be found in Strachey's work. (84) Several of the sections dealing with Mary Queen of Scots also reveal a command of contemporary material. (85) Again, however, there is an obvious attempt to produce a biography which will be at the same time literature. An interesting comparison appears between Strachey's passage on Bacon, and that where Neale writes, "Francis was wisdom's child. The cold clear light of human reason has rarely burnt so brightly. He wrote as an oracle; he spoke with the persuasive tongue of an orator. Nature, however, had shrunk from perfecting her miracle. There was a fundamental inaptitude of character, a lack of emotion, of virility, which left out as it were the keystone of the arch.... His mind soared into the heavens, but his feet were of clay." (86) The blending of material to produce an artistic effect can be seen, for example, in the chapter, *The Tragedy of Mary*; and historical detail, narrative, analysis of contemporary difficulties, and a sense of drama, combine to give the rather fine effect in the chapter on the Armada. This has yet a private, as well as a public character, by the contrast

of the public joy and the personal loss to Elizabeth involved in the death of Leicester.(87)

Just as we are given a sympathetic study of the adolescence of Mary, so with Elizabeth's childhood, we have her pride in her father, her quick intelligence which endeared her to him, her affection for her brother Edward, her difficult position because of her birth, and the Renaissance background against which she grew up, followed by the difficulties of her girlhood with Seymour and Catherine Parr.(88) Quite a considerable part of the book is taken up with the complicated web of marriage negotiations for the Queen, but these are linked with public events and used as a means of revealing her character. He does not suggest that Elizabeth was perfect, for in writing of her relations with the Scots reformers he says, "It was a situation after Elizabeth's own heart, demanding caution, secrecy and valiant lying;"(89) he ironically comments on her aim to govern with clemency, to avoid bloodshed, and to keep the people united, "She was apt to rejoice more over one Catholic who was loyal than over ninety and nine hot gospellers whose loyalty needed no demonstration." (90) He sees, however, in the relations of Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers the most sensible method of overcoming the problem of discipline at a court, constructed on a masculine basis; and he stresses Elizabeth's genuine desire to do well by Mary, a desire frustrated by her lack of honesty, and the determination of Parliament, so long and so indomitably withstood, to remove the menace to her life.(91) From the book emerges a real person, and, through the recognition of her difficulties, private and national, and the courage and ability with which she met them, we are enabled to salute a great Queen, all the greater for being so human. At the end, we agree with Neale's pronouncement, earlier in the book, "It is difficult to convey a proper appreciation of this amazing Queen, so keenly intelligent, so effervescing, so intimate, so imperious and regal. She intoxicated Court and country, keyed her realm to the intensity of her own spirit. No one but a woman could have done it, and no woman without her superlative gifts could have attempted it

without disaster."(92)

Another biography written in this same line of development is Edith Sitwell's Victoria of England of 1936. In parts, the author follows very closely the selection and handling of Lytton Strachey in his biography, and, in the case of the events in the Sudan, she supplements from Eminent Victorians. To the above material there are two important additions. The first is the fuller handling of the life of the Prince Consort, made possible by Hector Bolitho's Albert the Good, and, amongst other sections, this gives rise to the rather attractive part whereby the upbringing of Victoria is paralleled by that of the little boy who was to become her husband.(93) The other is that, from such books as Owen Rattenbury's Flame of Freedom, she sketches at intervals the social background of the Queen's reign - such are the harrowing pictures of what transportation meant, and the chapter, Some Phenomena, describing the agitations of Karl Marx, the penal settlements, and the growing imperialism which led to war with China.(94) March Past, giving a dreadful picture of the conditions of workers in various spheres of Industrial England, and taking the form of a procession, has some of the passion of poetry.(95)

Because of the deliberate exclusion of a complete political survey of the Queen's reign, the emphasis, much more than with Strachey, is on the purely human side. From the time on 24th May 1829, when Lord Albemarle sees her as a little girl with a clear laughing voice at Kensington Palace, in "her dress of white cotton with a darn in it - watering a little garden of her own,"(96) Miss Sitwell shows Victoria as child, girl, and woman, even more than as Queen. This does not mean that she ignores Queen Victoria's position, for the author comments on the judgment of character revealed in her appreciation of Disraeli, and stresses that, when she seemed an unseen mourning figure, time and again her vision and resolution saved Europe from being plunged in blood.(97) It does mean, however, that she will give larger extracts than her predecessor from the correspondence with King Leopold, and that she will give a picture



of domestic life at Osborne House, with the charming little Princess Royal "Fat Pussette" and the lonely little boy Albert Edward, gay and affectionate, but lacking the high seriousness demanded by his father.(98) It means, too, that the marriage of the Princess Royal and the concerns of the Prince of Wales will be more stressed, and that, even for the Jubilee procession, she will tell what the Queen noticed, her desire to believe that "dear Fritz" could not be as ill as she had feared, will include the coming of the Queen's grandchildren to say goodbye, and will describe her thoughts when the day was over.(99) Even European events take on, by this handling, a family air, and the unpleasantness between the Prince of Wales and the Emperor of Germany is treated as between Uncle Bertie and his nephew, a difference happily reconciled in time for the Queen's birthday.(100)

In this development in which much documentary material, and events with a solid historical basis, become "humanized," the latest, and, in some ways the most outstanding writer, is Arthur Bryant. Beginning in 1931 with the publication of King Charles II, and continuing with the first three volumes of a biography of Pepys, The Man in the Making of 1933, The Years of Peril of 1935, and The Saviour of the Navy of 1938, Bryant deserted the recent past of the Victorian era, and applied to his chosen subjects the method described. These biographies are based upon infinitely greater wealth of material than any of those hitherto discussed, and of a character demanding rigorous research, and all the apparatus of modern scholarship. In Charles II the classified list of material employed covers ten printed pages, and ranges from Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and Tracts to Parliamentary Debates, Journals, and State Trials.(101) This he follows by a list of chapters of the book with numbers, and in each section is a list of references for all the material used in the corresponding numbered section of the book. One little section of a chapter may be made up from a score of details from different sources, but the reader, if he so desires, can trace each to its original. Where there is no contemporary account, as in the King's Flight from Worcester, the reader is told the exact nature of the evidence, the

possibility of doubt as to a particular detail and incident, and the need to obtain the truth by comparison. Nevertheless, in such a section, there are employed such rare tracts as *Whiteladies* and *Miraculum Basilicon*.(102) With Samuel Pepys, Bryant embarks on a limitless sea of material, some of it quite uncharted. For the first of the volumes he has Pepys's Diary and letters, as he was to have in the later volumes other Diaries written by Pepys, including the *Tangier Papers*, and is able to take advantage of the work done previously on Pepysian manuscripts; he adds, of course, material used for the earlier biography, from *Calendar of State Papers*, *Domestic Series*, and the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*.(103) With his use of unpublished correspondence and *Memoranda* in the *Rawlinson MSS.* in the Bodleian Library he first draws on unpublished sources. The process thus begun was to lead, in The Years of Peril, to a flood of fresh light on the period when Pepys stood in jeopardy of his life from a plot as complicated as it was malignant.(104) In The Saviour of the Navy, too, Bryant had access for Pepys's achievement to thousands of official letters recorded in his last six Admiralty Letter Books, these being not even indexed, and containing, like the *Rawlinson MSS.*, much not hitherto given to the world. Along with this vast store of material and detailed reference, Bryant employs foot-notes for further illustration, and the appendix for the document, "The Present Ill State of my Health," dated Nov. 7th 1677.(105)

Yet, deep as is the debt which scholars owe to Bryant, his achievement is that in his material he relives the past, so that the dry bones take upon them flesh and blood, and the breath of life enters into them. The recurrent introduction of Charles II's fondness for his sister Minette, leading him ultimately into her web of the Catholic French Alliance, the amorous side of his career, with Frances Stewart, Nell Gwynn, Barbara Palmer (Countess of Castlemaine, and later Duchess of Cleveland), as well as his relations with his wife, his ways of enjoying himself, and the treasures he collected, all help towards this result.(106) In the volumes on Samuel

Pepys, there is the same emphasis, from time to time, on the more intimate and domestic side of the life, an emphasis in his case made easy by the nature of the material Bryant employs. Of this kind is the picture for 1658 of Pepys with his pride in the first house entirely his own, that in Axe Yard, the friends who came to him there, his daily life, with his meals and occupations, his way of spending Sunday, the degree to which he was a religious man, and his growing Royalism.(107) In the second volume, his life with his public Admiralty duties has, as its counterpart, that on the private side at Derby House, showing his passion for music, so great as to lead him to employ a private musician, and his hospitality, with his engaging delight in displaying the treasures he has collected.(108) In The Saviour of the Navy, Pepys is so much the public figure that at times his days and even nights are devoted to the service of his country, and he has no private life at all; but here again, in the chapter, Recreations of a Virtuoso, we see Pepys in 1687 delighting in scholarship, in his growing, beautiful library, and in the things made possible to him by the emoluments from the Admiralty.(109)

His handling of the central figure in relation to the historical events recorded is another way in which the record receives actuality. Bryant, with material from Pepys before him, yet contrives in Charles II to make Charles the central figure in the section on the Great Fire of London. He avoids the temptation to be merely picturesque and selects only those parts which relate directly to the King.(110) Still more in the volumes on Pepys do we have history handled in its relation to him. When, in 1674, Pepys takes up duty at the Admiralty, each new reform is oriented towards Pepys, as the person of whom they are characteristic(111) When, too, from 1684 to the spring of 1689 Pepys redeems the navy from decay, every problem appears not only as a national, but as a personal difficulty, and, correspondingly, when successfully overcome, a personal triumph.(112)

Two things, however, stand out in the success of these biographies. The first is that the main figures are to the author real people. Beginning, as it does, with the flight from Worcester, Charles II



passes over almost entirely the childhood of the King; nevertheless, in *Prelude - The Child of Vandyke's Picture*, there are such lively little details as those about his plainness, the kind of home he occupied, his education, and his stubbornness about taking medicine.(113) With Pepys the case is quite different, and he gives a delightfully human picture of the little boy, a picture in which the scholarship is lightly borne, though necessary for its truth. Having described his Puritan upbringing, Bryant tells of the joy in London of the "eager and loving little boy," and continues, "It was pleasant in summer to run down the steep alleys to the riverside and, splashing through the mud, bathe one's legs in the cool water while one shouted time-honoured gibes at the passing watermen, or to accompany one's parents on Sunday afternoons through the fields to Islington where one could blow oneself out on old Pitt's cakes and ales at the 'King's Head and throw stones at the ducks in the pond outside.'"(114) In both biographies, the fundamentally human appears wherever possible. When the English are almost mad with joy at the naval victory over the Dutch, in 1665, Bryant records that "in the gilded room beside the river, tears were running down Charles's face, for first among the names of the English dead was Berkeley's."(115)

Because of the reality of the person's character, Bryant is able also to show the revelation by circumstances of the elements in the personality, and its development and complexity. Of Pepys and his feeling of weakness in 1667 confronting an angry Parliament, he writes that Pepys met it "sadly, with fear and yet with unshakable (116) courage and constancy. Danger might damp his zest for life, but it revealed the rock of manhood that, fenman that he was, was the central bastion of his being." With Charles, we are shown how the exile developed his character, so that, when the time came, he had the outlook necessary for the financial straits of his country;(117) with Pepys also, we see his character unfolding, his dogged determination revealing itself, and his knowledge extending. The growth, from bitter personal experience, of discretion, made it possible for him in saving the navy to overcome inertia and expel vested interest, by

"the labours of a Hercules and the wiles of a Ulysses."(118) Because of the life which has come to the characters, Bryant has a warm human admiration for the principal figure. Speaking of Charles II's foundation of Chelsea Hospital, he remarks, "It was not an ignoble legacy for an impoverished King to leave to posterity."(119) In the life of Charles II there is a genuine sympathy with, and respect for, his attempts to make the Cavaliers share his own generous temper at the Restoration, his continued struggle against oppressive religious measures, and his courageous attitude at the time of the Titus Oates furore.(120) So, too, with Pepys, Bryant's attitude can be gauged by his comment at the time of Pepys's persecution by his enemies, "The Secretary of the Admiralty Office might be a middle-aged gentleman who loved comfort and had known pleasure, but he was singularly difficult to bring down."(121) A whole-hearted admiration Bryant is willing to extend to Pepys's temporary work on the Special Commission, as well as to the more permanent foundation laid by him of the British Navy, and of the modern civil service.

The other feature which must be stressed in the biographies of Bryant is that, from the historical and documentary material, he creates what has the quality of life, and results in a work of art. In Charles II, the chapter, The Miraculous Providence, elaborately documented as it is, has the freedom and movement of a work of creation.(122) Again, in the two chapters on the Popish Terror, we see "this middle-aged roué" fighting, single-handed, to preserve justice and sanity in public life, against tremendous odds, and with his personal popularity as his only weapon. With scholarly care the various elements in the situation are presented, but coloured by the emotion of the period, and producing a dramatic clash from time to time around the central figure of the King.(123) The book is rounded off by the finely written chapter, February Light, which contains the narrative of the King's final illness, his reception into the Catholic Church, and his slipping into the arms of death, before the eyes of the watching Bruce; yet, this short chapter is built up from a page of closely printed references, grouped under

twenty-one heads.(124) In the volumes on Pepys, one of the sections standing out is the vividly written chapter, *The Master Chronicler*; there, combining narrative and Diary, Bryant gives a fine description of the Great Fire, Pepys being in the foreground, with his weaknesses, but also his strength of character.(125) In his tracing the intricacies of the intrigue surrounding Pepys during "the Years of Peril," everything has an historical basis, being elaborately constructed from manuscript sources, yet, during the period, the reader is made to share Pepys's sense of strain, as well as his bewilderment and feeling of impotence, though we have clues to the intrigue denied to him. In the last of the volumes, through the chapters, *The Gathering Storm*, *Invasion*, and *The Glorious Revolution*, all the material is blended to produce analysis and swift narrative, with the thread of Pepys' life standing out. It remains biography, and not history. Consequently, when we come to the chapter *Defeat*, when others are recognizing the Revolution, and Pepys remains bound by loyalty in conscience, to lay down the work that he loves for the sake of the King he has served, the reader has the same imaginative and emotional sympathy which are roused by the creative artist.(126)

To appreciate this type of biography as one of the achievements of the modern period, one need only compare the biographies under discussion with two earlier works. Belloc's *Danton*, published in 1899, and in a new edition in 1928, has, like the more recent biographies, a section dealing with the effect of the typical French education as well as a description of Danton's characteristic guise, his features and dress, and his affectionate nature.(127) From Danton's arrest, through his trial, in which we hear the voices of the prisoners and those cross-examining, up to the dramatic execution scene, with Danton last against the background of Paris and of the setting sun, there is a marked attempt to write what will have life.(128) The affinity, however, is more with history as written by Carlyle than with pure biography. Again and again, Danton slips into the background, the most outstanding case being the



chapter on the fall of the monarchy, where the municipal change of summer 1790 is fully described, then comes a section on the influence on the States General and the laws affecting the clergy.(129) The fact is that the author has insufficient evidence for the part played by Danton, and one feels it inadequate when he remarks about the Fall of the Bastille, "The Cordeliers were in the attack, and presumably Danton also, since all the world was there."(130) It is not enough to "conjecture" and "infer," as he does elsewhere. The best biography of modern times has been written in direct contradiction of Belloc's point of view over the offer to Danton of a secretaryship; he says of certain facts, "we can have no exact knowledge. But it seems to me unwise to reject so characteristic an anecdote, and one which fits in so well with Danton's known position merely on the somewhat strained theory that documentary evidence alone should be admitted in history, and documentary evidence sifted by the rules of a rigid cross-examination."(131)

In Essays in Biography, The First Victorian, Bonamy Dobrée gives a study of Addison which stands in the other line of development. Based on such well-known lives as Aikin's, Johnson's, and Macaulay's, on histories such as Lecky's, Hallam's, and Burnet's History of his Own Times, as well as on Addison MSS., this short biography is not lacking in reliable material. Though Dobrée shows how Addison's character appears in certain incidents in his life, and by interaction with his contemporaries, though he shows the way in which Addison, by his ideals of life and conduct, was a Victorian before that era,(132) this aspect of the book is not the most outstanding. It gives, rather, a careful outline of Addison's literary activity, and his public career, and an analytical study of such problems as that raised by Cato, or the relations of Pope and Addison and the trouble caused by the translation of Homer.(133) It is clearly a work of scholarship, rather than an attempt to produce from a scholar's material what will be a human document.

Even before the emergence of Lytton Strachey as a biographer, one feature of this century has been the desire to penetrate behind

the legend to the person as he really was. May Sinclair's The Three Brontës of 1911 cannot strictly be called a biography. Partly, this is due to the prominence given to all of the family, and partly to the amount of literary criticism. She may discuss Charlotte Brontë's literary output, by analysis and illustration, or in the section dealing with Jane Eyre surrender herself in the long quotations to sheer enjoyment. Another section discusses fairly fully the qualities of Emily's poetic genius, while still another deals with the new poems discovered by Mr. Clement Shorter.(134) The main purpose, however, is to clear away the rubbish, as she says, from Charlotte's legend. For this reason we have an attempt to set in their proper light the character of Mr. Brontë and his relations to his children, the part played by Branwell in the life of the family, and the view that life at Haworth was a kind of penance. Instead, she shows that the sisters' genius could only live and flourish in the setting they loved.(135) Because of Mrs. Gaskell's reticence, Miss Sinclair claims that those desiring to know more about Charlotte invented and lied about her. She therefore sets about destroying the legends created by such writers as Sir Wemyss Reid, Mr. Francis Grundy, Mr. Leyland, and Mrs. Oliphant.(136) The whole story of Charlotte Brontë's infatuation for M. Héger of the Rue d'Isabelle in Brussels she carefully explodes,(137) in order to give what she regards as a more truthful picture of Charlotte's character and development.

In her book Miss Sinclair clears the character of her subject from baseless insinuations, but the influence of Lytton Strachey was towards the destruction of the other kind of legend. In the survey of modern literature called The Georgian Literary Scene, Swinnerton says that after Lytton Strachey "Writers set out with none of Strachey's literary skill to make game of famous men... Great men were butchered to make a smart suburban holiday." He may protest, "It is a great injustice to Strachey to associate him with such deplorable guying,"(138) but it is the accepted view that he, however unwittingly, started the fashion. Probably the handling

by Lytton Strachey of the great Victorians produced such an effect because of its supreme expression of a viewpoint held implicitly already by others. As Guedalla expressed it in the Introduction to Gladstone and Palmerston, "The posthumous lampoon..enjoys increasing prestige in an unchivalrous age which appears to derive unlimited enjoyment from gay onslaughts upon the unprotected dead."(139)

Kingsmill in Matthew Arnold of 1928 claims that it has now become unfashionable to attack the Victorians, as the age was held at its lowest in the decade before the Great War. "It was impossible for anyone to be more amusing at the expense of the Victorians than Lytton Strachey has been," he continues, and claims, unfairly as has been seen, that this explains the change of tone in Queen Victoria. It is also to explain his proposed treatment of Matthew Arnold.(140) In truth, however, Kingsmill's book is representative of the so-called "de-bunking" biographies, characterised by what passes for the ironic manner of Lytton Strachey. The book, to deal with its subject at all, must include such obvious material as letters by Dr. Arnold and his son, reminiscences, and quotations from Arnold's prose and verse.(141) Nor are some of the points made either unsound, or without interest. Such, for example, are the emphasis on Arnold's being without that rough contact with life experienced by Froude, and his interest in general welfare because of his imperfect adjustment to his surroundings.(142) Three things, however, give the book little permanent value. The first is that it lacks a unifying purpose, including, as equally relevant a critical chapter on the Preface of 1853, and one called, "A Half-Way Halt," where Kingsmill answers his suppositious reviewers, and their criticisms of his treatment of the Victorian era.(143) The second is the absence of sufficient research, or even reasonable trouble. In the reconstruction from the poems of the Marguerite incident, there is much guess-work, and the superior air with which Kingsmill treats this deficiency appears when he writes of his never having read-through Balder Dead.<sup>(144)</sup> The last, and most characteristic fault of the book is the attitude, not of hero-worship, nor of respect,



and attempted understanding, but of mocking condescension. The deliberate irreverence appears from the chapter, *Matt as Child*, and that on his position as a critic in *Objects as in Themselves They Really Aren't*.(145) In the chapter called by him "Don Matthew", the tendency to ridicule becomes so pronounced that it leaves the realm of serious biography, and becomes almost abusively farcical.(146) Kingsmill may imagine that he is simply combating Arnold's pose of omniscience, in which he creates a distance between him and the audience; as he puts it, "This distance I have annihilated leading Arnold out of the wings, and placing him boldly upstage. In this situation he may lose in impressiveness, but he will gain in human interest".(147) What Kingsmill did not reckon upon is the natural refusal of the reader to take seriously a presentation of Arnold's character from one who was so obviously unfitted to understand it.

In the same year, W.E. Woodward by his book, George Washington, with its characteristic sub-title The Image and the Man, applied something of the same method to him whom he ironically referred to as "The Father of our Country." The bibliography supplied, and the detailed study of facts and figures in the book, for example on the influence of the East India Company on American affairs, are two indications that there have been expended both time and trouble.(148) In the historical and social background of such chapters as *The Colonial People*, *Loggerheads and Pewter Dollars*, and *Storm Centres*, there is a reasonable command of the material from which they are drawn.(149) In the character of Washington, too, Woodward recognizes things which he may admire, his sense of fact, his ability as an agriculturist, his victory over difficult conditions at Mount Vernon, and his force of character. One can find little fault with the point of view which thus expresses itself, "I have no desire to belittle Washington; I am merely trying to present the truth, good or bad. The truth is that he was entirely devoid of original ideas... The keynote of his personality was Character... not Intellect, not Imagination, not Feeling. He was a perfect pattern of will and self-discipline. He possessed fortitude, steadfastness, dignity, courage,

honesty, and self-respect." Indeed, Woodward later says, "He was not a man of first-rate ability, but in many ways he was a great man... not only great but very great."(150)

Apart from the way in which Washington tends to fall out of the picture, the weakness is in the persistent flippancy and ridicule, which embrace in their turn Washington's forebears, the quality of his education, the War of Jenkin's Ear, the current conception of Lord Fairfax, Puritan morality, Granville's ignorance of colonial finance, the outrages leading to the American War of Independence;(151) and, with a hearty impartiality, the author shows that both Howe and Washington were guilty of stupidity in the Long Island affair of 1776.(152) Given the alternative of admiring the subject of the biography, or the cleverness of his supposedly more sapient biographer, one finds, after such handling, the choice to be comparatively easy.

Francis Hackett in 1929, with Henry the Eighth, combined with previously noted features of today the deliberate reduction of the stature of his subject. There is a considerable use, as he acknowledges, of the work of previous scholars, and the material includes the twenty volumes of the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII prepared under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. They help Hackett to achieve his purpose thus expressed, "to be then-minded, to use imagination and intuition, to suggest life."(153) There is the usual blending of material to produce a unity. The quality of the novel, produced from this material, and made fashionable by Maurois, appears not only in the prominence given to Henry's amorous adventures, but in the interest in the affairs of the other "characters." These include Elizabeth Blount up to the birth of her son Henry Fitzroy, Wolsey with his excitement over a possible advance to the Papacy on the death of Pope Leo, Anne Boleyn and her courtship by the young Percy, and the previous career of Katheryn Howard, whom he introduces as "a juvenile delinquent."(154) There is also the novelist's fondness for interspersed descriptive passages; the best example is perhaps the description of the funeral of Henry VII, as indeed most modern biographers seem to exert themselves to write well on the

occasion.(155) To these elements he adds the consistent purpose of "humanizing" his subject. He sets out to explode the myth about Henry VIII as the prince of good fellows, which arises, he suggests, from the King's deceptive appearance.(156) The author is under no delusion about Henry's character, though he understands how a legend could arise.(157) The attitude which depicts the baby Charles sleeping in his cradle and moaning restlessly, "not because he is going to be Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire - a trade name for Germany, more or less - but because he has adenoids,"(158) will leave to Henry few of his defences unpepetrated. The author prefers to regard him as a magnate rather than as a King, as a man whose motives are neither subtle nor elevated, and, at his death, the author can stand on his level reading the King's inmost thoughts.(159)

This Side Idolatry by Bechhofer Roberts is officially called a novel, but is actually only a very extreme example of this trend in biography. Forster, he claims, with the assistance of Georgina Hogarth, Dickens's sister-in-law, set out to establish the tradition of Dickens as the enemy of Cant and Humbug. Dickens's wife, deeply injured by the disposition of his will did nothing to interfere. "Kate still kept her silence;"(160) but Roberts was less reserved. Forster indeed provides the basis of the narrative, but as befits a novel, certain sections are much expanded and worked up, in particular the courtship and marriage of Dickens, his affection for his sister-in-law Mary, and then for the younger sister, accompanied by a growing alienation from his wife.(161) If Roberts feels that, in the presentation of Dickens's character, the least attractive sides of it have been glossed over - his combined parsimony and extravagance, his lack of consideration for others, his lack of scruple and honest dealing with his publishers, and his impatience of opposition - he is perfectly entitled to stress these. He may even feel, with John Dickens, that there was in the cranium "an unmistakable internal swelling. He appears to be content that his admirers should ascribe to him all the unparagoned virtues of his heroes and heroines, though he has, so far as I can see, only the slenderest claim to be



pictured as a kind of midsummer Santa Claus in monthly parts. I might even in this connection echo the judgment of his favourite dramatist, Ben Jonson upon Shakespeare, and confess that, while honouring Charles on this side idolatry as much as any, I cannot imagine why he should be most praised for the very qualities in which he is most deficient!"(162) It is not, however, a desire to reach the truth about Dickens which depicts him as calling himself, "The Inimitable," and "The Sparkler," as mimicking in America those who combined to do him honour,(163) and as behaving like a more conceited, and less responsible Sam Weller. It is merely part of a desire to destroy the reputation of men of a previous age, whose greatness our own cannot rival, nor always comprehend.

In this age the personality of the subject has been so much a focussing point that, as a branch of biography, several books called by their authors "portraits" have appeared. One of these, W.H. Hudson, by Morley Roberts, deliberately discards the regular framework of biography. Protesting against a clear outline, and an emphasis on dates, Roberts thus describes the labours of a future biographer, "Some day a biographer will take the story of his early life, and, having killed and skinned it, will boil it down into two chapters, as if it were a carcase to be rendered for fat."(164) Were his point of view adopted, hardly any regular biography would be possible. For the early part of Hudson's life there is little knowledge and few letters, nor did even Roberts's intimacy add much, because of Hudson's failure to talk about his past.(165) For the first part of their acquaintance, too, Roberts has no record to supplement his recollection. Consequently, there is a vagueness about parts of the study, and he himself admits that it is less valuable to those who did not know Hudson than to those who did. He could not, of course, fail to catch, and to transmit, something of Hudson's physical presence, the quality of his conversation, and his outlook on life. The method, however, has as its chief disadvantages a lack of orderliness, which does not produce the effect of a unified personality, a repetition at

times of points already made, and a vagueness due to the divorce from a basis of narrative or, except at the end, from written material, and to an exclusive use of reminiscences of a purely personal kind.(166)

The other two authors whose work we shall touch upon do not, in the portrait, depart from the usual biographical framework. Edwin Muir's John Knox, first published in 1929, is called a Portrait of a Calvinist. To the task Muir brings a detachment from his subject not shared by earlier biographers such as Dr. McCrie. Muir will not, for example, accept McCrie's defence of the desecration of the 'abbeyes, and the destruction of the works of art. While recognizing the effectiveness of the policy, Muir cannot but deprecate the meaningless quality of such iconoclasm.(167) So, too, he regrets that the influence of Calvinism, through Knox, robbed Scotland of the benefits of the Renaissance.(168) The book is, as its author claims, not a history of Calvinism in Scotland. It is a study of Knox.

Such knowledge of the Haddington period and that spent in the galleys as is available he produces,(169) and brings out the personal character of the subject by his relations with Mrs Bowes and the "sisters", and later by his reactions to Mary, Queen of Scots, who became with him a kind of obsession.(170) Calvinism is described to show those elements in it which appealed to Knox's character, which, in turn, has been set forth from letters, sermons, and published works such as, The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.(171) Into the secrets of Knox's personality Muir tries to penetrate to show how the reformer's fundamental uncertainty hid itself in the certainty of being God's instrument, how, if he deceived others, it was because he was himself first, and self-deceived.(172) From the study, Muir does enable us to distinguish between the man and the instrument, between Knox's greatness and his human weakness, so that, when in old age Knox reacts to the stimulus of attack, it is easy to shift the balance of sympathy from Queen Mary, and cause the reader

to pity, as well as admire, the doughty, vehement, persistent, and incorruptible old man.(173)

The most recent "portrait" is Philip Guedalla's Mr. Churchill of 1941. It inherits, as one might expect, several of the characteristics of Guedalla's more regular biographies. With Palmerston may be compared the racy sketch of Victorian England of 1874, built up from semi-humorous verse and familiar detail, while a later section, Edwardian, seeks again to place Churchill against his background.(174) While the time is not yet ripe for a full documentation, there is, in the list of Authorities, a fairly substantial foundation for the narrative.(175) As with the earlier books, he starts from the little boy, who had enjoyed life at Phoenix Park, "yet within two years of their return to England a gentleman named Burke, who had once given him a drum, was stabbed to death by Irish knives not many yards from 'The Little Lodge.'"(176) It continues through the period at his preparatory school, and comes in time to the domestic picture of his life in India, when, without Strachey's irony, he handles the change from scepticism when Churchill discovers prayer to be answered in acute danger.(177) Churchill's charge with the 21st Lancers against the Dervishes at Omdurman he deliberately keeps unheroic, despite its drama, and a similar light touch is used for his escape from the Boers in 1899, one method of avoiding the temptation to hero-worship.(178) Guedalla's fondness for anecdote, usually of a slightly irreverent type, also contributes to the effect. There is a sudden holding up of the narrative to emphasise, from time to time, now one, now another of the aspects of Churchill's personality - as parliamentarian, as author, and as the architect of the navy.

The portrait is however, distinctly one for contemporary reading. Signs of this are not wanting - for example the brackets which link Churchill with the other "Rough-Rider, later President Roosevelt,(179) and the stressing of Pétain's influence in favour of retreat before the advancing Germans in 1918.(180) Such qualities as people have come to recognize as characteristic Guedalla describes;



of Churchill's public utterances in 1939 he writes, "For he did not share his colleagues' taste for public utterances in a minor key; and where Mr. Chamberlain could only wring his hands, Mr. Churchill shook his fist;"(181) elsewhere, he says that people learned to know him as a voice, "Careful articulation, a slight difficulty with the letter 's'; judicious pauses, and a highly unusual vocabulary composed a personality in sound with which they were familiar by now;"(182) and later, "Soon his cigar, his dogged mouth, his purposeful, gay eye were seen abroad."(183) The best example of Guedalla's enlisting the help of the reader is to be found in the section where he traces from 1932 Churchill's part, at first as a prophet, then as a leader, in the events before, and during, the present war. Sounding through the narrative, like so many trumpet notes, are the most stirring parts of Churchill's speeches, the most brilliant parts of each rhetorical flight.(184) The book is one in which are used to the full the artistic appeal of the material, the contribution of the subject's known personality, and what the reader brings to it of experience and sympathy.

Far as these authors may have travelled from the miniature portraits of Lytton Strachey, the modern endeavour to give a portrait is, in part at least, due to his influence. His emphasis on biography as a distinct form of art produces another development - the desire to experiment with the form of biography. In all modern literature there appears this desire, and biography is affected by its recognition as a literary species. I can remember Robert Louis Stevenson, edited by Rosaline Masson in 1922 is one of these experiments. The book contains a great variety of contributions from people to whom Stevenson was personally known. The articles themselves differ widely - the extremely short anecdote, the matter of fact record, the lecture, the magazine article, the published work,(185) as well as contributions specifically written for the volume. The articles differ too in literary quality, two of the most attractive being "R.L.S. as Playmate," by "Lantern-Bearer, a full article printed in Chambers's Journal Sept. 1919, describing

Stevenson on holiday at North Berwick, and "Louis Stevenson in Edinburgh," by Flora Masson. (186) The family point of view appears in Mrs. Etta Younger's contribution, the personal friend in Sir Sidney Colvin's, and that of the man of letters in Thomas Hardy's. (187) Together, they cover Stevenson's life from his childhood to its close, not only so, but the contributions referring to the same period bring out different interests which made up his life. The Edinburgh essays, for instance, let us see him as student, as literary enthusiast, as debater at the Speculative Society, as actor, and amongst his family and friends. They give us the portrait of Stevenson before the contradictions have been removed by the biographer; for, on the one hand, we have George W.T. Omond picturing Stevenson at the University period with black hair worn long, and on the other, Dr. Edmund Gosse and J.H. Lorimer maintaining that Stevenson had naturally light hair and a fair colouring. (188) Again, Owen Scot-Skirving records that Stevenson, when going to be late for a rehearsal, sent to Professor Jenkin, the stage manager, his card, with inscribed thereon, "Wait not for the withered rose-bud," while his brother Dr. Robert Scot-Skirving says that they all stood in awe of Mrs. Jenkin, but Stevenson disarmed her wrath one time for his unpunctuality by saying, "I'm sorry - but why did you wait for this withered rose-bud?" (189) Another is the advantage that, while certain points come out the more strongly by emphasis in a number of articles - Stevenson's personal untidiness, his imagination, his conversational gifts, and his courage and charm - the complexity of his character also appears. In particular, a full and extremely attractive section deals with his life and character in Samoa. In the extract from Vailima Memories, Sir Graham Balfour writes, "Nothing less than a multiplicity of reminiscences can enable our successors to form any definite conception of what he was like or to understand why in his life-time he appealed to so many of those who came in contact with him." (190) Here we have suggested the limitation, as well as the value of the method, that only with certain subjects would such a method produce what

is of lasting biographical interest.

Calling it An Experiment in Biography, A.J.A. Symons published in 1934 The Quest for Corvo. Unlike most biographers, Symons does not start from a point at which there is known to him all the available information about his subject, and there remains the process of weighing and sifting evidence, of selecting material, of arranging and composing. Instead, like a detective investigating a case, in the first three chapters, The Problem, The Clues, and The Newspaper Attack, he starts to tell of the beginning of the quest.(191) From visits to his friend, Millard, the reading of Hadrian VII, and replies to letters sent by him to people whom he finds to have been connected with Rolfe, he sets out to trace the career of Rolfe, known also as Baron Corvo. He does so both up to, and after, the point marked by Hadrian VII. In Chapter IV, The Reluctant Brother, he checks up the facts already known, and is, from Hadrian VII, able to see the Aberdeen incident, reflected in the newspaper cutting, in a new light as in the speech of Rose, of the book.(192) He then goes back, and from the contemporaries of Rolfe, builds up a picture of him as a Theological Student at Oscott, and later at the Scots College at Rome.(193) The Quest structure he maintains by asking questions which suggested themselves over Corvo's London period, and by introducing material or personal evidence connected with the various people who crossed Rolfe's path. Not only has he to seek out the occupations of Rolfe, or Corvo, as a man, but to trace the strange fortunes of his literary productions. The one side leads to the introduction of letters from Corvo to Grant Richards about his book, Chronicles of the House of Borgia, and a letter to his brother describing his method of writing Dom Tarquinio; the other leads to the composite picture of his last desperate, tragic days at Venice up to the time of his death, drawn from those who knew him there, and supplemented by information from his friend, Pirie-Gordon.(194) Of Rolfe, the man, Symons has learned all that he thinks possible, and the chapter, Epitaph, is an attempt to sum up his life as a whole, as that of a defeated man of



genius. In *The End of the Quest*, however, he gives, as in a novel, the story of how Mr. Maundy Gregory, with enthusiasm and unlimited wealth, discovered the last of Corvo's writings. With this he concludes, "Nothing was left to be discovered; the Quest was ended. Hail, strange tormented spirit, in whatever hell or heaven has been allotted for your everlasting rest!"(195)

An interesting biographical experiment, this time not on the structural side, but in its point of view, is Virginia Woolf's Flush. Here we have ostensibly the biography of the dog belonging to Elizabeth Barrett, later Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, but it is also a partial biography of the poetess, from a canine angle. It begins with the ancestry of Flush, and brings the life of the dog to the point when he is handed over by his mistress, Miss Mitford, into the keeping of Miss Barrett. Because of the radical change, the impressions made by his new home are fully described.(196) Then comes the moment when dog and mistress each sees in the appearance of the other a resemblance to himself and herself.(197) From that point, the development of the two lives proceeds side by side. Miss Barrett's ability to go into the park has, as its parallel, the increase of Flush's knowledge of the world.(198) In due time, there comes the first visit of Mr. Browning, and Flush's amazement that Mr. Barrett is not aware that he has been there.(199) And so the book continues, through the escape of Miss Barrett, the birth of the baby up to the moment when, in the presence of his mistress, aging also, "he was silent. He had been alive; he was now dead."(200)

An equally unusual biographical experiment is to be found in Harold Nicolson's Helen's Tower. In this book we have the life of Lord Dufferin, the brother-in-law of Harold Nicolson's mother, blended with a partial autobiography of Nicolson himself. The personal contacts of the child and "Uncle Dufferin" are the fixed points between which the pageant of Lord Dufferin's life moves, and his character and career are seen through the eyes of the small boy. From the first meeting that he can remember with his "decorative and tragic uncle", at the Embassy in Paris,(201) Nicolson goes back

to describe his coming there, and life at the Embassy, with emphasis on such shildish things as the loss of his balloon. He recalls being shown his uncle's portrait by Benjamin Constant, and the obvious veneration of his governess Miss Plimsoll. This, he is sure, arose from Lord Dufferin's morning greeting, ending with "Your little charges do you credit;" he thus continues, "Her little charges did her nothing of the sort. Seldom can three little boys have been so ragged, so unlaced, so snuffy, so inventive, so tangled, so loud-toned, so inquisitive, or so dirty." (202)

The book has, however, quite clearly Lord Dufferin as its subject, and, as one might expect, the slightly shadowy figure of the Paris days, seen through the eyes of a child of five, becomes clearer as the book advances. It is not an official life, despite the insertion of extracts from the diaries of Lord and Lady Dufferin, and of Lord Dufferin's speech at the Mansion House banquet in 1889. (203) Indeed, although Nicolson has puzzled out for himself such problems as when Helen, Lady Dufferin, could have seen Napoleon as a child, he frankly acknowledges his debt to the official biographer, Sir Alfred Lyall, particularly for a period in his subject's life, as that at Oxford, before his own memory. (204)

From the subject of the table decorations at the Embassy in Paris, those beautiful gold spurs and roses so intriguing to a child, he passes to the origin of them. This enables him to trace the history of the Sheridan, Hamilton, and Blackwood families, from which sprang Lord Dufferin, while his wife was of Hamilton stock. (205) This common ingredient in biography Nicolson includes because the race from which he came, as well as the social background against which Lord Dufferin grew up, seem necessary to the understanding of his uncle's character. In the handling thereafter of his uncle's career, Nicolson makes as much as possible spring from his personal recollection. An oil picture at Clandeboye leads to a description of his uncle's Arctic Voyage, with appropriate material inset, and his own first reading of the record contained in Letters from High Latitudes. With the Indian period of Lord Dufferin's life is linked

the Museum at Clandeboye, the store-house for the Indian relics.(206) The blending of personal contact and knowledge gained otherwise continues to the fine picture of Lord Dufferin in old age, and includes the last tragic phase when ruin stared him in the face.(207) In it the events bring out what has now been established as Lord Dufferin's character, and the letter written before his death gives the last touch to a portrait which has become increasingly clear.

Side by side with these experiments in the form of biography, there remain books apparently almost untouched by any modern trend. Such, for example, is Holbrook Jackson's William Morris, 1926, in which a particular aspect of his subject's life is emphasised. William Morris's home and his days of childhood are touched upon, along with those friendships and activities at Oxford that were to influence him permanently; but the early part of the life is in the main a short, bare, narrative, the incorporated material being filled out but little. The main emphasis is on an analysis of Morris's work - his idea of handicraft in the golden age of the future in which the dream must be embodied in reality; the actual revival of handicraft appearing in the Arts and Crafts Movement; the Kelmscott Press for the production of beautiful books; and the revolt against civilisation leading first to a Socialist outlook, (208) then to a return to his original belief in salvation by craftsmanship.

Before the period when the lives of such famous men as Palmerston and Wellington were to appear as distilled essence of masses of documents, the life of one of their contemporaries was being written over several years. Begun in 1910 by W.F. Monypenny, mainly from the papers bequeathed to the late Lord Rowton by Lord Beaconsfield, the Life of Benjamin Disraeli was continued after the death of the first author, by G.E. Buckle, till the sixth volume appeared in 1920. The book has the leisurely movement of Disraeli's own time, and covers every aspect of the subject from the section about the Spanish Jews in England, and Disraeli's own ancestry, to the end of his life, and the analysis of his character, gifts, and reputation, to be found in *The Man and His Fame*.(209) In consequence,



it extends to the enormous length of over three thousand pages. Not only is the narrative a full one, but, whenever there comes an outstanding part of Disraeli's life, it receives a thoroughly documented handling. Disraeli's first attempt, through Lockhart, to connect himself with Murray's project of *The Representative* is only the first of a series of sections dealing with his literary interests.(210) Vivian Grey, Contarini Fleming, and the rest of his literary work receive similar treatment.(211) His political career, likewise, appears in full, with all his important speeches, from the fragment of his earliest one at High Wycombe,(212) right through his parliamentary career. It is one of the merits of the book that when, for example Gladstone and he are connected in one political event, Disraeli yet is undoubtedly the central figure. The same is true in the interesting chapter on The Congress of Berlin.(213)

Disraeli, too, is shown in his private capacity. His letters to his sister "Sa" show the warmth of his affection when it was engaged, and prepare us for the devoted letters between himself and Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, later his wife.(214) We see him also as the young dandy who was later to mellow to the courtly friend of Queen Victoria, and to find the period after his wife's death lightened by his friendship with Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield.(215) Objection may be made to the frequently unbroken series of extracts from letters, or from letters interwoven with material from his Diary; but the authors have, with undoubted skill, handled their great store of material, to produce not only the outline of a career, which was linked with a nation's history, social, political, and international, over many years, but to give something of the living quality of an interesting personality and a great man.

In Samuel Butler, A Memoir, by H.F. Jones 1919, we find in the main a biography characteristic of the previous century. There is an abundance of material, the part of the biographer being principally that of arranging and selecting. There are letters to him, his letters and memoranda, accounts by Jones of the various tours they took together, and regular use of Butler's printed work.

The reason for the generous use of this last is twofold. In that printed work Jones sees a considerable autobiographical element. The period of his childhood and youth, with those who crossed his path, is carefully linked, for instance, with The Way of All Flesh. (216) Secondly, he feels that everything which can throw light on Butler's literary development and activity is of value. In consequence, because it represents the view later expressed in Fair Haven, we have an outline of the position adopted by him in his pamphlet of 1865, The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ as given by the Four Evangelists critically examined, the account concluding with a quotation from the pamphlet. (217) So anxious is Jones to leave no aspect of a work untouched that the reader feels the selective process might possibly have been carried further. Interesting as the material is, there is a superabundance at times. In the matter of anecdote, also, there is a barely sufficient sense of relevance. From the point of view of material, there is one unusual feature; Butler had himself edited his remains, destroying freely, copying, indexing, and dating, and to that fact we owe the sometimes amusing, always illuminating, notes which Butler in 1901 wrote to some of the correspondence. Probably because so much had been done, Jones felt the less need to mould his material. At anyrate, the remark he makes on one occasion is significant, "Here are some notes about his schooldays." (218) The other point to be noted is that the material is selected to show the various sides of Butler's interests and activity. From the material and its handling, the book is, therefore, stronger as a narrative of an interesting career, than as a unified picture of a highly unusual personality.

The Life of William Hazlitt by P.P. Howe, published in 1922, is also in the main typical of the older biographical tradition. The slightly larger proportion devoted to the childhood of the subject than is usual may be due to recent tendencies, and leads to the inclusion of the letter from the boy to his brother, before he was quite ten, wherein William characteristically writes, "I shall like to know all the Latin and Greek I can. I want to learn how to measure

the stars. I shall not, I suppose, paint the worse for knowing everything else." (219) Typical of the older biography is the assumption that the biographer's duty is to defend his subject from adverse criticism. In a note to an entry from Crabb Robinson's Diary, Mar. 8, 1811, he disagrees with E.V. Lucas who concluded that certain money had been lent to Hazlitt, whereas the borrower, he claims, was Burnett; this leads him to a defence of Hazlitt's delicacy and independence over money matters. (220)

The method of the book is a chronological one; between 1809 and 1811, for example, Howe picks out, and strings together, references by friends, and by Hazlitt himself, to his activities, a great variety of material being interwoven with, or used to amplify, extracts from the diary of Crabb Robinson. (221) This method of handling the life in years has two effects. The first is that where little material appears for a year, such as there is loses its proportion; because the year 1807 is an obscure one, a letter from Hazlitt to his father is printed in full. (222) The second is that Howe traces the activities of Hazlitt's friends during the period, for instance what Coleridge had been doing while Hazlitt was at the Louvre. (223) A sense of relevance which occasionally slumbers aggravates this weakness, for, after tracing Hazlitt's share in the Blackwood feud, he goes on to give from Lang's Life of Lockhart the tragic sequel in the death of John Scott of The London Magazine at the hands of Christie, even although he has to say, "Hazlitt, to the best of our knowledge, was well out of all this, writing Table Talks at Winterslow." (224) Another feature of the handling, which brings the book into line with the older biography is the mosaic method, as it might be called. To the forty hitherto known letters of Hazlitt, plus the Liber Amoris group, Howe has added eighteen, but almost all the other material is from published sources - including Crabb Robinson's Reminiscences, references by his friends, and extremely frequent use of Hazlitt's essays. One of them used most extensively is My First Acquaintance with Poets, from which he draws the portrait of Hazlitt's father, the description of the



library, the visit of Coleridge, and his to Wordsworth and Coleridge at Nether Stowey.(225) Whether from a supposed delicacy or not, Howe, while quoting once from it, implies a knowledge of Liber Amoris, (226) though he quotes extensively from work much better known. Generally, however, the life is built up from material pieced together, sometimes, as in the painting memories of 1800-01, and in the last days, with the barest of links.(227) It will thus appear that, great as the interest of the book is, it derives from a skilful enough fitting together of pieces of material, rather than from a purely biographical art.

More adequate expression of the point of view of recent biographers is to be found in The Muse in Chains, by Stephen Potter. The attitude of detachment to the great figures of the past already illustrated, he thus expresses, "The nineteenth century is the great age of genius- running." After an ostensibly characteristic outline of the elements in the biography of the time, he continues, "Mysteriously almost all these factors enter into almost all the biographies. And then with equal regularity, certain omissions are made. Recently things have changed, but in the true old series there is no indication of the strong sexuality and passion which accompanies genius." (228) That indication is one of the features of modern biography, which shows the influence of psychological thought. There now remains the discussion of the ways in which that psychological thought has left its mark on biography.

- (1) Maurois Ariel, 35, 123-5, 126, 216. (2) Maurois Ariel, 9-11, 71-4.  
 (3) Maurois Ariel, 13. (4) Maurois Ariel, 72. (5) Maurois Ariel, 43-5, 130-7, 166-73. (6) Maurois Ariel, 217. (7) Maurois Ariel, 142-3.  
 (8) Maurois Ariel, 80, 162-3. (9) Maurois Ariel, 145. (10) Maurois Ariel, 39. (11) Maurois Dis., 135-6. (12) Maurois Dis., 176.  
 (13) Maurois Dis., 167. (14) Maurois Dis., 79-81, 95-6, 190-200.  
 (15) Maurois Dis., 5-8. (16) Maurois Dis., 57-8, 110-22. (17) Maurois Dis., 196-200. (18) Maurois Dis., 28, 31, 51-3, 61-4. (19) Maurois Dis., 144-5. (20) Maurois Dis., 214, Criterion, 653. (21) Maurois Dis., 93. (22) Maurois Dis., 181, 177. (23) Maurois Byr., 270-2.

- (24) Maurois Byr., 114, 170, 199-200. (25) Maurois Byr., 46, 88-94,  
 (26) Maurois Byr., 286-9. (27) Maurois Byr., 365-6. (28) Maurois  
 Byr., 418. (29) Ludwig Nap., 679-80. (30) Ludwig Nap., 291-304, 550.  
 (31) Ludwig Nap., 3-4, 48-51, 261-8, 338-42. (32) Ludwig Nap., 671.  
 (33) Ludwig Nap., 117. (34) Ludwig Nap., 386-421, 412-3.  
 (35) Ludwig Nap., 49. (36) Ludwig Nap., 681. (37) Ludwig K.W., vii.  
 (38) Ludwig K.W., viii. (39) Ludwig K.W., 80-98. (40) Ludwig K.W., 228-  
 231. (41) Ludwig K.W., 432-47. (42) Ludwig K.W., 3-6.  
 (43) Ludwig K.W., 264. (44) Ludwig K.W., 400-1. (45) Ludwig Bis., 17.  
 (46) Ludwig Bis., 626-33. (47) Ludwig Bis., 408-16. (48) Ludwig  
 Bis., 23-31. (49) Ludwig Hin., 1-28. (50) Ludwig Hin., 117-20.  
 (51) Ludwig Hin., 175. (52) Ludwig Hin., 346-70. (53) Guedalla P., 8-9.  
 (54) Guedalla D., ix-x. (55) Guedalla D., 487-9. (56) Guedalla P., 428-  
 431. (57) Guedalla G. & P., 60-2. (58) Guedalla P., 8.  
 (59) Guedalla G. & P., 9-10. (60) Guedalla G. & P., 14. (61) Guedalla  
 D., 376-7. (62) Guedalla D., 118. (63) Guedalla P., 42.  
 (64) Guedalla P., 397. (65) Guedalla D., 143-4. (66) Guedalla D., 155-6.  
 (67) Guedalla P., 204-35. (68) Guedalla D., 263-91. (69) Guedalla  
 P., 17-20, 28-36. (70) Guedalla D., 299-300, 302-8. (71) Guedalla P., 162.  
 (72) Guedalla P., 40. (73) Guedalla P., 36. (74) Guedalla D., 22.  
 (75) Guedalla D., 23. (76) Guedalla P., 189-90. (77) Guedalla P., 334-  
 335. (78) Guedalla D., 441. (79) Guedalla G. & P., 11.  
 (80) Guedalla D., 422-9. (81) Guedalla D., 377-8. (82) Guedalla P., 459.  
 (83) Guedalla D., 476. (84) Neale, 68-70, 80, 115, 212-3, 343.  
 (85) Neale, 141, 161-8. (86) Neale, 331. (87) Neale, 257-82, 291-301.  
 (88) Neale, 16, 18-26, 28-30. (89) Neale, 194. (90) Neale, 177.  
 (91) Neale, 73, 270-9. (92) Neale 215. (93) Sitwell, 32-7, 37-9.  
 (94) Sitwell, 90-1, 149-161. (95) Sitwell, 162-75. (96) Sitwell, 32.  
 (97) Sitwell, 292-4, 314-5. (98) Sitwell, 197-201. (99) Sitwell, 234,  
 237, 329-32. (100) Sitwell, 346-7. (101) Bryant K.C., 374-84.  
 (102) Bryant K.C., 385-8. (103) Bryant Pep. I, 394-5. (104) Bryant  
 Pep. II, 220-330. (105) Bryant Pep. II, 405-13. (106) Bryant K.C., 67,  
 77, 210-1, 145, 169-70, 200-1, 148-50, 104-13. (107) Bryant Pep. I, 50-63.  
 (108) Bryant Pep. II, 120-42. (109) Bryant Pep. III, 219-36.

- (110) Bryant K.C., 183-5. (111) Bryant Pep. II, 123-36. (112) Bryant Pep. III, 86-101, 187-8. (113) Bryant K.C., 4-6. (114) Bryant Pep. I, 9. (115) Bryant K.C., 177. (116) Bryant Pep. I, 344. (117) Bryant K.C., 44-46, 118-9. (118) Bryant Pep. III, 87. (119) Bryant K.C., 328. (120) Bryant K.C., 122-9, 268-88. (121) Bryant Pep. II, 241. (122) Bryant K.C., 11-40. (123) Bryant K.C., 268-88. (124) Bryant K.C., 361-71. (125) Bryant Pep. I, 299-308. (126) Bryant Pep. III, 380-391. (127) Belloc, 45-6, 53-6. (128) Belloc, 248-80. (129) Belloc, 114-70. (130) Belloc, 74. (131) Belloc, 61. (132) Dobrée, 214, 216-8, 266. (133) Dobrée, 287-97, 263-8, 311-7. (134) Sinclair Brontës, 98-114, 173-85, 186-209. (135) Sinclair Brontës, 2, 8-10, 15-20, 4. (136) Sinclair Brontës, 47-53, 59-65. (137) Sinclair Brontës, 72-98. (138) Swinnerton, 384. (139) Guedalla G. & P., 9. (140) Kingsmill, 1-2. (141) Kingsmill, 16-9, 152-3, 60f., 243. (142) Kingsmill, 33, 189. (143) Kingsmill, 114-21, 136-42. (144) Kingsmill, 66-79, 129. (145) Kingsmill, 28, 216. (146) Kingsmill, 234-58. (147) Kingsmill, xii-xiii. (148) Woodward, 367-78, 192-4. (149) Woodward, 93-108, 120-32, 133-47. (150) Woodward, 174-5, 362. (151) Woodward, 12-6, 23, 28, 31, 109-13, 146-7, 179-89. (152) Woodward, 240-7. (153) Hackett, Foreword. (154) Hackett, 164-6, 201-3, 230-3, 456-9. (155) Hackett, 81-2. (156) Hackett, 336. (157) Hackett, 419. (158) Hackett, 13. (159) Hackett, 11-2, 524-7. (160) Roberts B., 319. (161) Roberts B., 138-48, 161-5, 299-318. (162) Roberts B., 284. (163) Roberts B., 159, 161, 215. (164) Roberts M., 18. (165) Roberts M., 46. (166) Roberts M., 190f. (167) Muir, 180-2. (168) Muir, 307-9. (169) Muir, 12-8, 25-6. (170) Muir, 31-3, 90-5, 232-65. (171) Muir, 99-119, 130-2. (172) Muir, 184-186, 189. (173) Muir, 280-98. (174) Guedalla Ch., 11-6, 97-9. (175) Guedalla Ch., 327-40. (176) Guedalla Ch., 22. (177) Guedalla Ch., 30, 51-4. (178) Guedalla Ch., 68-70, 83-7. (179) Guedalla Ch., 100. (180) Guedalla Ch., 197-8. (181) Guedalla Ch., 281-2. (182) Guedalla Ch., 308. (183) Guedalla Ch., 309. (184) Guedalla Ch., 255-320. (185) Masson R., 159, 34, 72, 148, 243. (186) Masson R., 23-32, 125-36. (187) Masson R., 63-6, 88-93, 214-6. (188) Masson R., 77, 75, 86. (189) Masson R., 138, 28-9. (190) Masson R., 282.



- (191) Symons, 9-37. (192) Symons, 39-45. (193) Symons, 46-53, 58-64.  
 (194) Symons, 87-90, 130-1, 158-86. (195) Symons, 211. (196) Woolf  
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 (199) Woolf Flush, 53-6. (200) Woolf Flush, 96-101, 118-9, 150.  
 (201) Nicolson H.T., 4, 1-2. (202) Nicolson H.T., 17, 103.  
 (203) Nicolson H.T., 148, 200-4, 221-2. (204) Nicolson H.T., 59-60, 69.  
 (205) Nicolson H.T., 33-55. (206) Nicolson H.T., 99-103, 186-201.  
 (207) Nicolson H.T., 245-58, 268-77. (208) Jackson, 10-8, 60-114.  
 (209) Monypenny I, 1-8, VI, 608-23, 636-47. (210) Monypenny I, 60-73.  
 (211) Monypenny I, 79-93, II, 181-94. (212) Monypenny I, 214.  
 (213) Monypenny IV, 154-61, 276-8, VI, 310-59. (214) Monypenny I, 42-8,  
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 (222) Howe, 97-8. (223) Howe, 68-9. (224) Howe, 305-14, 312.  
 (225) Howe, 23-5, 34-41, 42-8. (226) Howe, 347-8. (227) Howe, 57-61,  
 420-6. (228) Potter, 82.

## Chapter XIV.

## Psychological Influence in Modern Biography.

Influence in vocabulary, explanation of personality, and treatment of childhood. Psychological element in work of Harold Nicolson - Tennyson, Swinburne. Emphasis on childhood, and passionate element - Burdett, Catherine Carswell, Dame Una Pope-Hennessy. Biographies of development. New biographical treatment of Wordsworth and Byron. The man of genius in modern biography.

The work of the psychoanalysts and those engaged in the sphere of child psychology has created a new vocabulary, for, and means of explaining, certain personality traits, and, like all the other modern writers, the biographer avails himself of these. Ludwig's Napoleon, for example, referring to Napoleon's motives for marrying Josephine, concludes thus, "Finally is it not obvious that this man who is so utterly self-centred must passionately long for a perpetuation of his own ego?"(1) In Kaiser Wilhelm II, Holstein is said to have suffered from a persecution mania, while Eulenburg's character is explained as having many pathological tendencies, and the Kaiser's conduct throughout the war is considered in the light of his heredity, physical handicap, and nervous constitution.(2) Edwin Muir, too, in his portrait of John Knox, writes that Knox had a deeply rooted inferiority, that he had constantly to be "asserting himself in order to prove that he was there." There might be in others an ebb and flow of volition, "But Knox's will never slept; it was incapable of resisting a stimulus; it drove him on with a frightful automatic compulsion in which there was something meaningless, because pathological!"(3) In Woodward's George Washington, even the collapse of the Mercantile System is diagnosed as being due to "an incurable locomotor ataxia."(4)

Another way in which the influence of psychology appears is in the attempt to find what are the fundamental motives determining the course of a person's life. This falls to be discussed more

fully, but one of the early examples is to be found in Ludwig's Napoleon, where, after giving a reply made by Napoleon to criticism of his actions when Consul, he writes, "In these notable words, we hear the rippling of the three fountains of his soul - contempt for mankind, understanding of the masses, and the critical aloofness of the foreigner who has chosen a new fatherland." (5) After the conclusion of his novel, so styled, This Side Idolatry, Bechhofer Roberts, in a note, tries to explain Dickens's dream at Genoa about a veiled Madonna. The memories of his dead sister-in-law he explains as determining the dream-symbolism. That, in turn, he traces to an unconscious adoration for his mother, producing a mother-fixation; and in the revulsion it causes him to idealise unattainable women like his two sisters-in-law. Other features of Dickens's personality are also explained by the now known abnormalities of character. (6) Again, writing of Lady Caroline Lamb's husband, Peter Quennell in Byron, The Years of Fame, writes "He could not love her, since he wallowed her to go her way. And attention of one kind or another, was the desiderium of this incorrigible exhibitionist." (7) Another aspect of it is the attempt to understand the complexity underlying human responses. Kingsmill, trying to explain Matthew Arnold's treatment of the Old Testament, sees in it all Arnold's weaknesses, his tendency to placate his father's shade, the personification of a nation, and the elevation of "conduct" as divorced from the artistic and speculative elements, resulting from the conflict between his English sympathies and his Semitic upbringing. (8) In the chapter, Epitaph, A.J.A. Symons tries to explain the phenomena of Baron Corvo's life. Victorian England created for him a problem inherent in his own abnormality, and Symons shows how he tried one way of escape after another, each failure marking a further stage in the development of his neurosis. Time after time he is denied emotional satisfaction, till, in the last stage of paranoia, in the period in Venice, he simply gives up the struggle and indulges his passion. (9)

In particular, the new psychology does bring a clearer



understanding not only of the importance of childhood as a determining factor, but of the childhood itself of the subjects of the biography. In Helen's Tower, Nicolson dwells on his own horror at the preparations for bed, and his childish fantasies, of terrifying vividness.(10) He remembers, too, his agonies of apprehension when, at the age of eight, he had to fill a gap and recite at a concert in Belfast.(11) The description of the Museum at Clondeboy leads him to describe three exhibits which specially frightened him as a child, and the fantasies that these together brought to him.(12) Even the problem of the gaps in childish memory appears,(13) and a later visit raises the question of why he had forgotten the dolls and caskets.(14) The suggestions, such as the selectiveness of childhood memory forgetting what does not awake pleasure or pain, the possibility, according to a Freudian explanation, that they were repressed because of a painful association with the "Black Hole," or the Viennese explanation of a Siva-complex which made him hide them from memory under layers of the unconscious, all reveal the effect of modern psychology. Although Nicolson denies having any repressions, and maintains that the forgetfulness was due to his interest in India's not yet being aroused, the fact that these other explanations presented themselves is significant.(15)

In Harold Nicolson's Tennyson, Aspects of his Life, Character, and Poetry, 1923, as in some older works, a considerable proportion of the book is devoted to criticism of the poetry, and pictures of Tennyson in a social capacity. The usual biographical material, Hallam Tennyson's Life of his father, and very frequently Tennyson's poetry, are employed. He says, however, that the life of Tennyson is to be treated "from our usual scavenger point of view,"(16) though he admits his sense of irreverence in doing so. Modern psychological influence is perceptible in the emphasis on Tennyson's childhood, at which period is included the end of a letter to Aunt Marianne Fytche on "Sampson Agonistes."(17) It is seen also in the formative influence exercised by the poet's mother, and her stressing of the Christian duty laid upon him by his poetic gifts.(18)

While Lockhart's criticisms on the 1832 volume are discussed to show how they affected the later versions of the poems, more particularly are they included for the effect upon Tennyson, coinciding with the loss of his sheet-anchor, Hallam. Staggering as was the blow to his hopes when he was faced "not by disparagement merely, but by yelping hostility, by shouts of malignant laughter, by disgrace. He was not only discouraged, he was not only dismayed; he was actually frightened. Never, never again would he expose himself to the coarse brutality of the English public," this, coming with Hallam's death, created "a grave neurotic crisis " in the life of Tennyson.(19) Though he refuses to use the jargon of the psycho-analysts, Nicolson betrays his debt to them in his recognition of the fear of so many things in Tennyson's nature. It is this which, in the poem on the publication of Monckton Milnes' Life of Keats, inspires his horror of the probing eye of the public,

Keep nothing sacred; 'tis but just

The many-headed beast should know,

and his pity of the famous dead,

For whom the carrion vulture waits

To tear his heart before the crowd!(20)

It appears still more in the distinction between the real person and the official bard, in the stress on the spiritual loneliness which breaks forth in the best of Tennyson's lyrical poetry, when, having thrown aside his pretended solutions about love, politics, and religion, Tennyson stands revealed as he was in his inmost soul.(21)

The fact that Nicolson's volume on Swinburne was written for the English Men of Letters Series to a degree affects the handling of the book. Its informative character is emphasised, for example, by the use of Sir Edmund Gosse's Life of Swinburne, by the catalogue of the twenty-three volumes with dates covering the vast bulk of the work between 1879 and 1909, and by the considerable amount of critical discussion and illustration.(22) There is, nevertheless, a clear attempt to make the book a synthesis, if not a creation. The chapter on Atalanta in Calydon is characterised by an artistic

welding of the material.(23) The book appears as a modern biography mainly by two features. The first is the recognition that, customary as it now is, to give greater prominence to the childhood of men of genius, with Swinburne it is a critical and biographical necessity because of his imperviousness to experience. For this reason, all the details of his boyhood, including his holidays and his reading, are stressed.(24) The second feature is the attempt to explain the peculiar quality of his genius. His imperviousness to experience has already been mentioned;(25) along with this Nicolson stresses the fact that the inspiration by literature is part of the submissiveness of Swinburne's nature and links with hero-worship.(26) He stresses too that Swinburne's boyhood's being the period of essential experience accounts for his strange and incomplete emotional adjustment,(27) while his failure during the years 1860 to 1865 to place himself in a sensitive relation to something new involved the inevitable return to his earlier experiences.(28) In Swinburne Nicolson sees the tension between "the instinct of self-assertion" and "the instinct of self-abasement;" in him he sees violence struggling against docility.(29) In Swinburne's failure to realize himself or his surroundings, he sees his struggle against incomplete physical development.

The double emphasis on the childhood of the subject, and on his passionate life, is a feature of modern biography traceable almost undoubtedly to the influence of psychology. Osbert Burdett's The Brownings of 1928 is one example of the dual emphasis. The book does, indeed, include also chapters of pure literary criticism, such as the sections discussing, with quotations, Elizabeth Barrett's early work, analysing its weaknesses and her special poetic gifts, also those chapters devoted to Browning's early poems, to Men and Women, and to The Ring and the Book, although here it becomes half personal, and leads to a section dealing with the poet's experience of married life.(30) The other aspects are, however, more characteristic. It begins with the girlhood of Elizabeth Barrett, built up from recollections to be found in Aurora Leigh, and in a letter



written long after to Browning, besides being supplemented by other work. We are thus given some appreciation of her home and family relations, her reading, and the moulding influence of circumstances on her. Even her personal appearance is linked with her Essay on Mind, of which Burdett writes, "Elizabeth Barrett writes of the great authors as naturally and affectionately as another girl might of her dolls. She may be impulsive, but she is appealing; and it is easy to imagine the sensitive face framed in its long curls." (31) To end the section entitled "A Bird in a Cage" we have in full the letter of admiration about her poems from Robert Browning, acting as a link between his youth and hers, (32). Since she was recognized by fame when he was unknown, she is dealt with first, but now we are taken back for a brief outline of Browning's family tradition, showing how the poet's father became the man he was, and how that, in turn, conditioned the poet's very happy untrammelled childhood and youth, of which we are given a vivid picture in a home where literary and musical influences were at work. (33) The whole of the middle third of the book is narrative, drawn from, and fused with, letters from the first contact of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning to their marriage and departure for Italy. Mostly the letters are in quite small sections, welded by feeling, and having a dramatic quality; one of the few exceptions is that of Aug. 25, 1845, referring to her brother's loss at Torquay, and her father's forbearance, and is printed much more fully because of the light shed on Mr. Barrett and the signs of growing intimacy. (34) From her father's ban on her visit to Pisa, the three characters play out their parts as in a novel, against a background of minor people, which might even be said to include Flush, (35) While less steeped in feeling, the remaining part of the book shows from time to time, by little detailed pictures, the perfection of their married happiness. Irritated Browning might occasionally be over her opinions, but never with her, and it is significant that after her death the scale of the book diminishes, (36) for his complement has been removed, and his development is complete.

Catherine Carswell's Life of Robert Burns, published in 1930,

contributes to the knowledge of the poet new facts and different interpretations of those already known. Mary Morison, for instance, she dates as belonging to the intimacy with Alison Begbie, the servant at Cessnock.(37) The Irvine period of Burns's life she shows to have been less complicated than was imagined, by establishing for him two places of residence.(38) By dates and by his own statement, she disproves the generally accepted view that the poems were written to secure passage money for Jamaica.(39) By her access to the family tradition, and to the papers of her great-great-grandfather, she is able to discuss fully Burns's dealings over Dalswinton with Patrick Miller.(40)

But the most typical parts of the book are, once more, those dealing with the poet's childhood and youth, and with his life of passion. After the vivid sketch of 18th century Scotland and of the poet's forebears, comes the important section, Father and Son. There are set forth the birth of the poet, the family arrangements, the early impression made by his mother's singing, the picture of Mount Oliphant as a home, and the various stages of his education under the careful direction and planning of his father.(41) The section ends with the moving family scene over his father's death.(42) The author shows how the songs stored from childhood in the poet's brain became the inspirers of his genius,(43) just as tendencies of character thus early revealed shaped his life thereafter. Even in this early period are discussed in their turn his first love, that for Nelly Kilpatrick, his intimacy with Peggy Thomson of Kirkoswald, that with Alison Begbie on his return from Kirkoswald, and with Lizzie Paton on his return from Irvine.(44) His connection with Jean Armour, including the part played by her family, up to the period of his subsequent decision to marry her and settle down, is also discussed.(45) This, however, is not a continuous narrative, but the thread is broken by his visit to Edinburgh, for which we have a detailed description of his meeting with Mistress McLehose, and the progress of her affair with Burns, linked extracts from their letters as Clarinda and Sylvander forming a fair proportion

of a chapter (46) For the Dumfries period, some space is devoted to his connection with Anna Park and with Maria Riddel of Woodley Park.(47)

The book is actually a reaction from the tendency to regard Burns principally as the Bard; he is a poet because of the passionate strain which created his love lyrics, because of his personality as a man. It is this which Catherine Carswell seeks to emphasise when, having described the tragedy of his last illness as it appeared to those loving him, she says, "Men and women quite suddenly realised that here lay one who was the Poet of his Country - perhaps of mankind - as none had been before, because none before had combined so many human weaknesses with so great an ardour of living and so generous a warmth of admission. Certainly none had ever possessed a racier gift of expression for his own people. The more for having sinned on all points wherein the common man is tempted to sin, both to glory and repentance; the more for having walked the valley of the shadow of compromise while yet retaining in his breast the proud, soft, defiant heart of a man."(48)

The title of Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's book, The Laird of Abbotsford published in the year of the Scott Centenary, suggests that this is once more a "humanized" biography. In the Preface she says that it is time that Scott walked "the earth again and reassumed some of the characteristics of which Lockhart in his protective love divested him."(49) Intimate details of Scott's life in Parliament House are therefore made to include the hour at which the young advocates arrived and their routine of business.(50) In the section, Old Men's Shoes, we have described the ordinary familiar process of "wire-pulling," whereby Scott was made Sheriff-Depute of Selkirkshire.(51) Even when the Mediterranean cruise is described, amongst those awaiting Scott at Malta, "there was Willie Erskine's girl Euphemia whom he had known from babyhood."(52)

The two parts which provide the freshest handling are, as in the books just discussed, the childhood of Scott and the love element of his life. In the first chapter, we begin with a picture in 1777



of a small boy with sand-coloured hair limping across the flats at Prestonpans, the child "Wattie Scott," whose passion for the past is nurtured with his grandfather at Sandyknowe, till he has had created a dream life from ballad and adventure.(53) When she comes to the Williamina Belsches episode, she departs from the usual Scottish tradition by looking upon it as a tenuous affair, in which neither she nor her family would regard Scott as a serious suitor.(54) Instead, despite Scott's comment to Lady Abercorn, she regards his ardour for the young French girl then Charlotte Carpentier as real and lasting. On the basis of visits to the site of Triermain, and to the Roman Wall at Birdoswald, and working from The Bridal of Triermain, read above the valley of the Irthing,(55) the author follows Scott's rapid and passionate devotion to the lady for whom he felt the great love of his life. The writer may not be able to reconcile this theory with what she imagines as Scott's detachment shown in the Journal over his wife's death;(56) the main point is that she should thus interpret Scott's life.

In the book also appears another element, showing psychological influence, the emphasis on development of ability and personality. "From babyhood," she writes, "everything in Walter Scott's experience conspired to make the child the father of the man."(57) The influence of his Border childhood has been mentioned, and when she writes of the influence of his illness of 1784-5, which caused him to lie in bed for months, a "whispering cereal-eater," she says of the reading done then, "The omnivorous intake of material at an impressionable age makes it easy to account for the enormous output of his middle years."(58) The visit to the Highlands at sixteen she finds to be the foundation of The Lady of the Lake, his work on the Edinburgh Review his training ground in prose, his editing of Dryden, with its necessary research into Lord Somers' Collection of Tracts, the opening of a storehouse for the historical novelist.(59) So, later, she shows how all his faculties and preparation led up to these novels.(60)

H.I.A. Fausset actually called his short book on Keats, A Study

in Development, and it is the theme of his other works to be discussed. The quotations from Keats's letters are few, and mainly put in foot-notes, but the poems are quoted freely, that he may trace from the early poems such as Sleep and Poetry Keats's development through The Eve of St. Agnes to the Second Hyperion. Endymion he condemns for its entire concentration on the senses, for, to quote the book, "The senses exercised alone, in the end annihilate the ego, and Endymion has found content because he has lost human consciousness, and so ceased from effort." (61) Keats himself never ceased, and the measure of his greatness, according to Fausset, was in the progress from sensationalism to vision, from idealisation to idealism. His poetry is read as a life document, a history of the search for a higher and purer sense of beauty, from sensuous beauty to truth and harmony with the creative mind of the universe. (62)

A fuller study, John Donne, two years later, works out from poems, letters, and sermons, as well as Walton's Life, the discord between the elements in Donne's character and the way in which that discord became harmonised. In the Prologue, the author describes him as "a genius physically and intellectually 'possessed'... a poet who was at times near a monster, full-blooded, cynical and gross, a thinker, curious, ingenious and mathematical, a seer brooding morbidly over the dark flux of things, a saint aspiring to the celestial harmony." (63) Starting from Donne's social and intellectual isolation, inherent in his Catholic birth, Fausset shows how the young law-student cast off his Catholic chains. (64) In the coarse nose and tilted protruding lip he sees a link with the passion, even brutality, of his love poetry. First his marriage, then his struggle over the choice of the church as a career, and his illness are stressed as preparations for his final development, a development in which the strongest forces of his character were harmonised. (65) Of his earlier life Fausset writes, "We do not need a Freud to convince us that the religious and the erotic impulses are closely related" and again, "It was through the agonized errors of sex that Donne rose to the sublimities of religion." (66) Like Keats, he was on a quest, but his was for "some God,

in fact, more real than either philosophic abstractions or conventional dogmas, a God in whom his whole nature intellectual, sensual and spiritual, could conclusively believe."(67) His early physical violence was the forerunner and complement of his spiritual ardour, and in the Church the gulf between mind and heart decreased. Donne, he claims, was a popular preacher, not because he lowered himself to his congregation, but because they were caught up in the religious drama of his soul, acted out before them. In the face of Donne, as he lies in death, Fausset sees, and finely describes, the warring elements in his character, their full development in the final reconciliation.(68)

Tolstoy, The Inner Drama, starts from the divided personality and burden of sin shown in his childhood, a division and burden forgotten only in the life of Nature.(69) The very generous quotations from Tolstoy's printed works are chosen to show in him the developing conflict between Nature and the soul seeking to transcend Nature. By an analysis of The Cossacks, Fausset shows how Tolstoy tried to solve the problem of life by going back to the primitive life of the Cossacks, but it was for him now impossible, and only marked a further stage in development.(70) In the physical life he could not forget moral problems indefinitely, far less could he solve them. He therefore attempted to repudiate the thralldom of the sense. From War and Peace, Fausset traces Tolstoy's attitude to women, to religion, and to society.(71) Because of his fear of the physical came his preoccupation with death, and in his attitude to art, to music, and to the work of Shakespeare. In Tolstoy's continued failure to reach a synthesis of body and of spirit Fausset sees the explanation of his limitation as a creative artist, his lack of fulfilment as a man.(72)

Fausset had, in his discussion of Tolstoy's attitude to sensation, introduced a comparison between him and Wordsworth.(73) In The Lost Leader we find him carrying further his early conception of that poet's development. The book is as a whole so characteristic of one aspect of modern biography that it will be of interest to



trace how the present day handling of Wordsworth as a biographical subject has developed. Emile Legouis's The Early Life of William Wordsworth, appearing in its first edition in 1897, was, for its period, rather an exceptional book. It had, as its sub-title, "A Study of the Prelude," but it was actually a study of Wordsworth's development. It was of course made possible by working on the unusually revealing material in The Prelude. Of this Legouis says, to quote the standard English translation of J.W. Matthews, that while we must allow for the possibility of reflections added later, "we may nevertheless count ourselves fortunate in owing our knowledge of Wordsworth's childhood to the only man who could describe it with certainty.....What has the appearance of an important event to those around him often passes unnoticed by the child, while a detail imperceptible to others, the existence of which no member even of the same family has suspected, has sometimes occasioned one of those mysterious impulses which gives a permanent bent and direction to the youthful mind." (74) In the book are other elements, one being the desire to instruct French readers, another the critical purpose, but its unique interest lies in the study of Wordsworth's youth and spiritual development. Using The Prelude as a basis, and supplementing from other material, Legouis shows how Wordsworth's spiritual constitution was conditioned by his childhood, including the strange mystical experiences of Nature recorded by him. (75) The influence of Michel Beaupuy towards Republicanism, the moral crisis brought on by the Revolution, the healing influence of Dorothy Wordsworth, the faith in, and disillusion over, the ideas of Godwin, and finally the stimulus to his genius of Coleridge's critical intelligence, are all described as stages in Wordsworth's full development. (76)

At this point he leaves Wordsworth, but to his previous study Professor Legouis added in 1922 William Wordsworth and Annette Vallon. As a result of a discovery of letters from Dorothy Wordsworth, by Professor Harper, and investigated further by Legouis, a part of Wordsworth's life in France, hitherto obscure, becomes clear. The absence of family letters and papers dealing with it, and Wordsworth's

leaving out part of the truth in The Prelude, (77) led to the covering up of this experience. From the material now available, and linking the incident with its record in Vaudracour and Julia, (78) Professor Legouis traces Wordsworth's connection with Annette Vallon. This is done to the time when, before his marriage with Mary Hutchinson, the meeting at Calais establishes the former lovers on a basis of friendship. (79) The points still to be stressed are that Wordsworth never himself denied the connection, and accepted financial responsibility for Annette, and later for his daughter. The previous portrait of Wordsworth, Legouis feels, and this marks it as modern, to have been an impoverished one, because the reality was richer, more complex, and more human. (80)

In the smaller book following this, Wordsworth in a New Light, while omitting part of the material dealing with Annette's life, Legouis covers the same ground as far as Wordsworth is concerned. Claiming that most people knew of Wordsworth's natural daughter, he says that there is no question of spoiling an edifying legend, nor can the critic propagate falsehood. "He is, moreover, conscious that at some time or other murder will out; and he believes that the greatest drawback to a character is not a frankly told error of conduct, but the late and sudden revelation of it after years of silence." (81)

Characteristic as is the emphasis on this part of Wordsworth's life, Herbert Read's Wordsworth is even more typical of modern biography, for in it we have combined the two elements. He uses, with reservations, The Prelude as a basis for Wordsworth's development towards Nature, and his growth as a poet. (82) At the appropriate stage, however, he lays great stress on the Annette Vallon episode which he claims to be the key to Wordsworth's emotional unfolding; "With this key, he becomes, not indeed, a rational being, but a man whose thwarted emotions found an external and objective compensation in his poetry." (83) In the failure to give rein to his passion for Annette, in the deadening of his political sympathy with France, in his spiritual isolation in the Lake District, Read sees Wordsworth

progressing from stage to stage in the drying up of his feeling, and of his poetic gift. The failure of The Excursion is only a final proof of Read's theory, "Wordsworth had so frustrated his feelings that he was no longer capable of sustained poetic expression." (84) The gradual change in the handling of Wordsworth as a subject of biography has now almost reached its latest stage. This latest stage is reached in Fausset's study, The Lost Leader of 1933.

Differing little in material from earlier biographical studies, this book uses in a modern way the extracts from Wordsworth's poetry, particularly The Prelude. Like Herbert Read, stressing Wordsworth's childhood and adolescence, and the effect on his emotional development of the Annette Vallon incident, Fausset, at the same time, handles Wordsworth's life as a problem of development, as he had done those of his earlier biographical subjects. In consequence, he deals far more fully with the period following the Annette Vallon incident, for in it he sees Wordsworth seeking a compromise fatal to his development as a man and as a poet. (85) That development, the writer claims, constitutes neither an intellectual nor a psychological problem, but can be explained by Wordsworth's handling of a spiritual crisis. (86)

In his childhood the natural had first place, but with a constant interfusing of the spiritual. (87) Manhood reached, there came the need to integrate mind and senses in a creative harmony, but, by turning his back upon France and upon Annette, Fausset sees Wordsworth begin the process of spiritual atrophy. (88) The end was not yet, for Coleridge's receptive quality was to fertilize Wordsworth for ten years, and to save him from sterility. (89) During that time, we find Wordsworth seeking to return for inspiration to the mindless state of childhood, the pure sensational contact with Nature, and the primitive rural virtue. Even he, however, cannot return to the state he exalts. (90) In his poetry Wordsworth seeks satisfaction which his fear of the senses prevents him from securing from life. As a poet, the way of imagination proved a temporary solution, but the way of compromise in religion, in politics, in all the



spheres of life grew more and more attractive, Only on great occasions, as on his Highland tour, when his heart went out in imaginative sympathy, did he for a time reach spiritual harmony.(91) The inability to advance to the unity of a creative purpose, Fausset regards as the explanation of Wordsworth's poetic barrenness. A craftsman he might remain, but, when, in The Excursion, he reconciles "his manhood to a couch," "in ceasing to struggle, not because he had resolved the conflict, but because he desired peace at any price, he had abandoned the creative adventure of life."(92)

Now all this appears very modern and scientific, as well as providing a neat solution of Wordsworth's personality. Unfortunately, Miss Edith Batho's The Later Wordsworth and the material supplied there show it to have been altogether too simple. Her first section she entitles "Two or Three Witnesses," though it might more truly have been described as "A Cloud of Witnesses," for in it, from a great many contemporary sources, she builds up two contradictory portraits of Wordsworth from the time that his fame was acknowledged in 1815. The more favourable one she shows to be based on notices spread over a number of years, and written by people of judgment, even of genius; the unfavourable she proves to have been composed during the years 1818 to 1825, and to be drawn by a connected group, Leigh Hunt, Keats, Haydon, and Hazlitt, with, a little apart, Byron and Shelley.(93) One by one, the attacks on Wordsworth by these and others are dealt with, their inconsistencies revealed, and the causes of the prejudice made manifest. In the course of the book the various shades on the face of the older Wordsworth are dispelled, and that by no uncritical hero-worship, but by the scholarly weighing of evidence, especially from Wordsworth's prose works, and from the testimony of those, such as R.P. Graves the curate of Ambleside from 1835, who knew him best. Wordsworth's supposed vanity as a poet, and his political and religious sympathies are examined, and the misunderstandings about these removed. In no way, she shows, could Wordsworth be said to harden as the years advanced, witness his passionate grief over his daughter's death.(94) His was a passionate

nature, but, like Scott's, his feeling was disciplined. Finally, instead of explaining Wordsworth's petrification of soul by a desertion of Annette Vallon, and a denial of his poetic inspiration, she shows that circumstances forced the separation on him, that any covering up of the incident came from her, that Dorothy, not she, inspired his best poetry, and that a purely physical cause, painful, recurring inflammation of the eyes making continued composition impossible, precluded the completion of his philosophical poem.(95) It is small wonder, in view of this evidence, that she writes, .."The facts of his life are wrested to fit theories of psychology and poetry..... A few fixed ideas, a sprinkling of the vocabulary, an ignorance of all the evidence which is not printed in the more accessible biographies and a blindness to a good deal that is there, a plentiful lack of common sense, and an assumption of moral and intellectual infallibility which must provoke, in the undistinguished, thankfulness that they themselves will have to answer only to a more merciful Judge; these seem to be the necessary qualifications. The process is then simple".(96) Valuable as is the recognition of development in personality, it can thus be seen into how many pitfalls a biographer may be led by using it as his sole guiding star.

The handling of Byron as a subject of biography is almost equally typical of modern trends in that art. In Moore's Life of Byron, the poet's literary activity, his life at different stages, and Byron as a person with his views and characteristics, were, along with the supplying of the letters and memoranda, the main elements in the biography. Moore's reticence, on Byron's own suggestion, over the amorous phases in the poet's life has already been mentioned. Byron by Miss E.C. Mayne, first published in 1912, and revised in 1924, does not follow Moore's example. With a wider range of material than Moore's, Miss Mayne was the first of Byron's biographers to employ a recent addition to the available information. In the chapter, Astarte, she uses a document drawn up by Lady Byron at the instance of Dr. Lushington, Mr. Robert Wilmot, and Col. Doyle, and first given to the world in Astarte 1905, by Lord Lovelace, grandson

of the poet, son of his daughter Ada. In the same chapter, she quotes from, and refers to, Mrs. Beecher Stowe's A Vindication of Lady Byron. (97) These additions are characteristic of the attempt throughout to arouse emotional sympathy in the reader. It appears first of all in her handling of Byron's childhood, but especially in the prominence given to Byron's affairs of passion. Lady Caroline Lamb, Lady Frances Webster, Byron's half-sister Augusta Leigh, Claire Clairmont, and Countess Guiccioli are dealt with in detail. (98) and a full treatment is given to his whole connection with Miss Milbanke, the period of their marriage, their separation, and Byron's feelings towards her after it. (99) This she feels no restraint in doing, for she shows that Moore lost his share in the Memoirs by his own dilatoriness, and Augusta was persuaded by Hobhouse that they should be burned, a task carried out though Murray owned them, and Lady Byron had no such desire. (100) Despite the material thus lacking, Miss Mayne, on the available evidence, feels able to say, about his marriage, "For he was like a boy in that, as he was in so much else. The more he found he could shock, the more he tried to shock; and malignity entered the game when he found that each attempt was silently resented. What finally separated Lord and Lady Byron we now know; what made it impossible for them to live together we have always known - those of us who have any instinct for incompatibilities." (101)

The sympathy with Lady Byron, which yet did not make her a partisan against the poet, led Miss Mayne to write, The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron, published in 1929. It is not intended to revive the "Byron Scandal," though it employs the material from Astarte and the narrative of their married life given by Lady Byron to her legal advisers to give grounds for separation, and later for Ada's being made a ward in Chancery. (102) Because of her known truthfulness, admitted even by Byron, the section of the book dealing with their relations does add new knowledge. It lets us see also why married happiness between them was difficult, though perhaps with no-one would Byron have been content. As Lady



childhood, the features of his personality, and the way his contemporaries regarded him till he became, under Childe Harold, the "show-man of the Romantic Movement." (108) While certain new material is incorporated, such as Hobhouse's jottings on Moore's Life, in many ways, both the selection of the incidents of his life, and even the actual handling of them is in line with the Lives just discussed. Following Maurois, he calls the Halnaby period, The Treaclemoon. More than in the others, however, is the attempt to show from an incident some facet of Byron's character. The study of Byron's personality is indeed the freshest part of the book. Using the articles in the Quarterly 1931 by James Kemble, and in the Lancet, 1923, The Mystery of Lord Byron's Lameness, and adding the facts given by Hobhouse beyond those in Moore, Quennell discusses the nature of the trouble. His conclusion that it was probably nervous in origin is interesting, but more so is the part which shows its effect on the poet's character - the moulding effect of his recollections of his earlier sufferings from it, and the feeling of isolation which it imposed. (109) Also in line with psychological thought is Quennell's explanation of Byron's relations with women. They bring out, he suggests, the ambiguity of Byron's character - his good-nature till forced by desperation to brutality, his haunting desire for happiness bred by a disturbed childhood, but his difficulty with a suitable wife, his moodiness, his deeper needs than could be satisfied by an intelligent woman, because he was simpler, as well as more complicated than he appeared, his romantic attitude to women, but real liking for the company of men. In Byron, Quennell sees mental equipment which was feminine and intuitive, rather than masculine and intellectual. (110) In his curious indiscretion Quennell finds Byron to be one whose self-destructive instinct outweighed that of self-preservation, and who had an obsessive sense of guilt, the mark left by his religious and moral scruples. (111) In the nature of these explanations of Byron's character, as well as in the vocabulary employed - for example, the "bisexual" nature of his genius, and his "narcissistic" emotion - we see

applied the new method of approach to one who has always constituted a psychological problem.

Probably this attraction to the character of Byron, as well as the family connection with Greek Independence, through Gawn Hamilton, led Harold Nicolson to his earlier study, Byron, The Last Journey, dealing with the last year of Byron's life. This book contains most of the characteristic features of modern biography. There is the attempt to bring together as much documentary and other evidence as possible. Not only does the book contain material from Lady Blessington, and Leigh Hunt, but uses a number of little known letters connected with the Greek war, and information personally obtained from Mr. Aramandios Soustas, headmaster at Missolonghi, who had it from Costa Ghazis, Byron's ferryman, and who enabled Nicolson to trace out the house where Byron died, and to describe it as it was in 1823.(112) The material, too, is carefully sifted, and, as for Byron's last illness, discrepancies recognized, yet from the whole an artistic unity created. The poet is also linked with his background, of events, as the Greek War of Independence and the growth of Philhellenism on the one hand, and of places, as in the description of the ugliness and dreariness of Missolonghi, combined with a confusion of household management infuriating to Byron's inner longing for peace.(113) There is the attempt to read the person's mind, begun by Lytton Strachey, in dealing with Byron's annoyance at Shelley for saddling him with Leigh Hunt and his family.(114) It combines with the attempt to give a physical picture, where Nicolson writes that "his indignation with Shelley for having died and left him so uncongenial a legacy lashed his nerves at moments into wild and hysterical storms of fury. For Byron, it must be remembered, was a very irritable man.... There were times when....his white, and even teeth would flash and clash as those of a panther, when he would scream aloud in his vexation."(115) It appears, blended with irony in the passage where he describes Byron's feelings on setting out on the Brig Hercules.(116) In the same passage, too, later in the chapter, is one of the most characteristic attempts to

analyse what it was which took Byron to Greece, and to recognize the inevitable conclusion to the undertaking. Only at the present day could one find such a summing-up. Byron thinks of what the others expect of him in Greece, and Nicolson writes, "From the first they had confused his genius with his character; in the force of his imagination he had flamed for them as something virile and volcanic; with the unrealities of his own temperament he had been able to flick and flibbit in a most engaging manner, but to the glacial honesty of his judgment the realities of his nature were revealed in all their stark insufficiency. His life-long struggle to obtain to absolute objectivity had led him into many a pathetic affectation, had led him to aspire to the functions and manner of a man of action. These pretensions would now, and before the gaze of all the world, be drastically exposed; he knew, poor tired sensationalist, that he would fail to stand the test. He knew that the only positive action of which he was still capable was death." (117) Whatever the temptations of this technique, with a character like Byron's, it has its own value; nor does the recognition of Byron's weaknesses make any less Nicolson's appreciation of his courage at the end, and of his services to the cause of Greek Independence.

Another writer in whom the new technique has aroused fresh interest is William Blake. Using as his basis Gilchrist's earlier *Life* Blake's letters, and poems, with other contemporary material, Osbert Burdett contributed to the English Men of Letters Series his William Blake. The special purpose for which it was written to some degree determines the handling. It means that Blake's poetry, including the Prophetic Books, will be handled fully, but his work as an artist discussed in more general terms. Even in a book, primarily planned to give exact information, we see the increased understanding brought by psychology. In proportion to the size of the biography, the section dealing with Blake's childhood is long, for in that period the author sees influences shaping Blake's life. His passionate nature, later revealed in his marriage, is described. The absence of discipline, caused by his schooling at



home is shown to have affected him as a writer, and the ignorance of Greek and Latin mythology meant there was no rival to that met in Swedenborg.(118) The influence of the Elizabethans is described, but, says Burdett, of the lyrics written under such influence, "How the ego begins to cling to itself as the only certainty." (119) Since even by Gilchrist was discussed the question of Blake's sanity, in a psychological age that problem is inevitable of inclusion. If insanity is to be tested by disorder of conduct, Burdett shows that Blake was anything but mad; if, however, we enter the mental realm, we find idiosyncrasies fostered by all the circumstances of his life.(120) The other aspect which holds special interest is Blake's mysticism, and here we have a new contribution made possible in an age to which the question of symbolism is of recognized importance.(121)

In Miss Mona Wilson's Life of William Blake, the year after, there is additional material from work on Blake's manuscripts, but the most distinctive feature is the handling of Blake's mysticism. The development of Blake as a mystic, and his peculiar quality are dealt with, and his poems discussed as characteristic of his mysticism. His symbolism particularly receives an interesting handling. Of it she writes, "Blake may be readily pinned through the wings as a choice specimen in the Freudian Museum; the adventures of the children in Songs of Innocence and of Experience can be given endless pathological significance and the Oedipus complex, far from needing patient unravelling positively prances through his pages. The paucity of information about his relations to his father and mother is also an asset to readers of this school. But even those who are more interested in understanding the books than in attributing complexes to the writer will differ widely in their interpretation of particular passages." (122) Though she may write ironically, only in an age when these conceptions were generally familiar should we find an author discussing so fully Blake's symbolism. The special meaning attached by the poet to the word "sexual" as being an additional sense, whereby one learns of eternity,

the link with his own perfect marriage, and, from that, his mystical development are discussed from a knowledge of modern psychology.(123) While it causes an emphasis on Blake's divergence from the average mind and character, this new knowledge shows that Blake had only in greater degree the power of visualizing of many imaginative people. In particular, a new understanding of Blake's phantasies is possible, from knowing the phantasy life of childhood, and his visionary heads are shown to be a perfectly normal experience, that of hypnagogic images, things seen on the verge of sleep.(124)

Another writer who had the strangeness of genius, Cowper, becomes the subject of a modern biography in Lord David Cecil's The Stricken Deer of 1929. This book has the most frequent features of modern biography - material from a variety of sources, as well as from the subject, careful selection, and arrangement of the material to give a vivid picture of the person's life at its various stages, the introduction of people and contemporary movements which affected the person's development. The whole is touched with human sympathy, as in the attractive picture of the kind of life to which Cowper returned after his second attack of insanity, with his simple delight in animals, gardening, writing, and society.(125) More than one person and situation is touched with a suggestion of irony, Cowper's relations with Lady Austen, Newton, and Samuel Teedon amongst them.(126) It is, however, on Cowper's insanity that the book is most modern, and gives its best contribution. The author traces Cowper's development, and enters his mind and emotions, for, as he says, we can now, from the mass of material, "reconstruct, not only the outward ordering of his life down to the way he spent each hour, and every article of furniture in his room, but also the trend and fluctuation of his solitary thought."(127) "Cowper the child," he claims, "was like Cowper the man; a defeatist, hating decisions, frightened of the unknown; the creature, not the creator of his destiny; liking someone or something on which to lean."(128) From that childhood Cecil traces Cowper's inner development, showing the hurts from which his sensitive spirit shrank, and the removing,

bit by bit, of the confidence wherein he trusted. The parts played by Mrs. Unwin, Newton, and Evangelical religion are clearly set forth, and it is with a sense of horror one sees slipping from Cowper his religious faith, which had before lifted him from the abyss. (129) Not only does Cecil bring an increased understanding of the causes and progress of Cowper's madness, not only does he show that religion, far from helping to produce it, was the only thing which stood, after his first collapse, between him and madness, but, during the periods of insanity, he lets the reader share the inner drama of Cowper's tortured spirit. His imaginative grasp gives to the third attack and final collapse an almost intolerable tension, (130) and it is with the quiet artistry of a closing tragedy that the author writes of the change seen by the Rev. John Johnson on the face of the dead Cowper, "The strain and the apathy which so long had marked his wasted features were gone, and instead they lit up with a rapt unearthly wonder, 'a holy surprise.' Was it a mere chance effect of dissolution? or could it be that during those hours of unconsciousness a momentous event had taken place in the unseen territories of Cowper's spirit: that on the very threshold of the grave it was vouchsafed to him, for the second time to behold the supreme vision of St. Alban's ; and gazing with unveiled eye at the Beatific Glory, he learnt that, after all, his despair had been founded on delusion? We shall never know." (131)

The writer of the present day who has, perhaps, shown most of the eccentricity of genius has been D.H. Lawrence. He has attracted to himself as biographers several writers, and because of the large amount of autobiographical material in his work, lends himself peculiarly to psycho-analysis. Rebecca West, in her little book, D.H. Lawrence, is amongst the first of a series of writers on Lawrence. While writing of his personal charm of intercourse, (132) it is mainly as a man of genius that she describes him. He is not to be excused because of his tuberculosis, or because his birth gave him an inferiority complex, but to be recognized as a mystic, with an apocalyptic vision, but without the normal theological symbolism



for its expression.(133) Lawrence as the man of genius is, too, the subject of Aldous Huxley's introduction to the edition of Lawrence's letters. Like Blake, Lawrence, he feels, was predestined by his gifts, his peculiar sensitiveness, and his consciousness of the numinous.(134) His "daimon" must be given its chance in his writing, and in his life too he set out to be an artist, condemning all that distracts man from the immediate business of living.(135) In his peculiar gifts were to be found, the author says, the causes of Lawrence's essential solitude, a solitude which made him a wanderer, but also of his clear vision, which went at the end beyond the frontiers of human consciousness.(136)

Two of the writers who have given the fullest study of Lawrence have been Middleton Murry and Catherine Carswell. As a preliminary to a formal biography, Middleton Murry had published in *The Adelphi* an article, Reminiscences of D.H. Lawrence, recording the progress of their friendship. It incorporated letters exchanged between them, and note-book records of evenings spent with Lawrence and Frieda, descriptions of their times of special intimacy, and brought out the different elements in Lawrence's character, elements which were responsible for the final alienation. Taking as her title a phrase used by Lawrence in a letter to Katherine Mansfield, Catherine Carswell wrote a narrative of D.H. Lawrence, called The Savage Pilgrimage. In the book she touches upon the chief events of Lawrence's life, and works in a number of letters shedding light on his books and character. But chiefly its purpose is a dual one. She wishes to give her own impression of Lawrence from the time when she first saw him in June 1914, "with his deep-set jewel-like eyes, thick dust-coloured hair, pointed underlip of notable sweetness, fine hands, and rapid but restless movements."(137) She therefore describes him, frequently from memory, in varying places and relations, always defending the qualities he therein reveals. Because of this attitude, her second purpose is to discredit the picture and interpretation of D.H. Lawrence given in Middleton Murry's Son of Woman.(138) So much did Murry feel the injustice of her remarks, that in 1933 he

published a book, Reminiscences of D.H. Lawrence, in which he condemns her work, "The Savage Pilgrimage seems to me an example of how not to understand Lawrence. As an act of exclusive feminine piety it is a valuable contribution to the biography of externals; but nothing more."(139) In this volume, after a reprint of his previous Adelphi article, he takes on one by one Mrs. Carswell's strictures, and shows that either by ignorance of the facts or deliberate distortion of them, she has suggested treachery to Lawrence which is without foundation. (140) In general, he shows that the friendship of sympathy was impossible for them, because of their radical difference of outlook, but only after Lawrence was dead had Murry power to shake off Lawrence's hold upon him, and assert his own individuality.(141) Murry, therefore, stands by his position in Son of Woman, both for choice of subject and for treatment one of the most characteristic biographies of our age.

Though knowing Lawrence well personally, Murry recognizes that the real Lawrence could be revealed only in his books. From these books, therefore, Murry traces Lawrence's development, his "soul-adventure" from boyhood. Letters he discards, and the bare facts of Lawrence's career, such as his teaching experience and his wanderings, he condenses to the greatest possible extent. Instead, beginning with Sons and Lovers, he lets us see the conflict in Lawrence between the sensual and the spiritual.(142) He shows how Lawrence tried to find fulfilment first in woman, reaching its equipoise in the Fantasia of the Unconscious and Aaron's Rod,(143) how a man to man relationship proved equally a failure,(144) how the mindless life of the primitive Mexican also repelled him,(145) and how, as disintegration proceeded, his spiritual life became a chaos. Lawrence's greatness he never denies, personal sympathy he willingly offers, but as a prophet he cannot accept Lawrence, and only that could satisfy him.(146) In the course of the book, not only does Murry deal with his spiritual progress as Lawrence himself saw it, but he digs down to those levels of consciousness which explain Lawrence's extraordinary personality.

Since so much has been achieved on the side of technique, since

modern biography places no limit, either of convention or of intimacy, on what may be revealed of a man's personality, is the development now complete, we may ask. The last word, as so often, is with the poet. Masfield, in Biography, writes,

When I am buried, all my thoughts and acts  
Will be reduced to lists of dates and facts,  
And long before this wandering flesh is rotten  
The dates which made me will be all forgotten;  
And none will know the gleam there used to be  
About the feast days freshly kept by me,  
But men will call the golden hour of bliss  
'About this time' or 'shortly after this.' (147)

But the whole truth about a man is not quite so simple. There is the secret territory of the soul which cannot be explored by either biographer or psychologist - and well is it that it should be so.

Yet when I am dust my penman may not know  
Those water-tramplng ships which made me glow,  
But think my wonder mad and fail to find,  
Their glory, even dimly, from my mind,  
And yet they made me. (148)

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(22) Nicolson Swin., 30, 32, 44f., 165, 46f. (23) Nicolson Swin., 73-92.  
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(29) Nicolson Swin., 14. (30) Burdett Brown., 31-8, 88-115, 278-95.  
(31) Burdett Brown., 1-14. (32) Burdett Brown., 60-1.



- (33) Burdett Brown., 62-7. (34) Burdett Brown., 150-2. (35) Burdett Brown., 158-208. (36) Burdett Brown., 296f. (37) Carswell Burns, 96. (38) Carswell Burns, 108. (39) Carswell Burns, 165-8. (40) Carswell Burns, 264-9. (41) Carswell Burns, 49-72. (42) Carswell Burns, 126-9. (43) Carswell Burns, 41-3, 69-70. (44) Carswell Burns, 68-71, 81-3, 95-101, 150-2. (45) Carswell Burns, 148-9, 169-75, 322-5. (46) Carswell Burns, 277-307. (47) Carswell Burns, 366-7, 384-8, 412, 454. (48) Carswell Burns, 452-3. (49) Hennessy, 9. (50) Hennessy, 37. (51) Hennessy, 84-9. (52) Hennessy, 293. (53) Hennessy, 17-9. (54) Hennessy, 41-2. (55) Hennessy, 52-65. (56) Hennessy, 274. (57) Hennessy, 18. (58) Hennessy, 20, 24-5. (59) Hennessy, 26, 111, 120-1. (60) Hennessy, 155-6. (61) Fausset Keats, 60. (62) Fausset Keats, 13, 107. (63) Fausset Donne, 20. (64) Fausset Donne, 30-4. (65) Fausset Donne, 38, 95-103, 218-24, 254-60. (66) Fausset Donne, 56, 82. (67) Fausset Donne, 40. (68) Fausset Donne, 311. (69) Fausset Tol., 29-37. (70) Fausset Tol., 61-70. (71) Fausset Tol., 146-70. (72) Fausset Tol., 251, 269, 290, 296. (73) Fausset Tol., 49-50. (74) Legouis, 15-6. (75) Legouis, 22-3, 37-44. (76) Legouis, 201-17, 253-315, 368-82. (77) Legouis Vall., viii-x, 21. (78) Legouis Vall., 16-20. (79) Legouis Vall., 11, 64-80. (80) Legouis Vall., 101-2, 116-7. (81) Legouis Light, 41, 44. (82) Read, 50-60. (83) Read, 94-7, (84) Read, 230. (85) Fausset Leader, 150, 168-72. (86) Fausset Leader, 7. (87) Fausset Leader, 29-32, 34-6. (88) Fausset Leader, 119-23, 168-172. (89) Fausset Leader, 199. (90) Fausset Leader, 266-76. (91) Fausset Leader, 352-9. (92) Fausset Leader, 433. (93) Batho, 52-4. (94) Batho, 305-6. (95) Batho, 258-9, 313-4, 318-36. (96) Batho, 340. (97) Mayne B., II, 2-5, 19-20. (98) Mayne B., I, 215-50, 261-70, II, 6-32, 58-73, 134-61. (99) Mayne B., I, 297-336, II, 260-2. (100) Mayne B., II, 322-6. (101) Mayne B., I, 298. (102) MayneLB., 159-224. (103) Mayne L.B., 211. (104) Maurois Byr., 53-60, 133-4, 146-50, 295, 309, 321. (105) Maurois Byr., 161-3, 179, 172-8, 223-35. (106) Maurois Byr., 379-403. (107) Quennell, 375-6. (108) Quennell, 90-5. (109) Quennell, 70-7. (110) Quennell, 113-9. (111) Quennell, 256-62. (112) Nicolson Byr., 1-19, 22-34, 76-89, 190-1. (113) Nicolson Byr., 46-69, 188-95.

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